JAMES JOYCE, CATHOLICISM AND HERESY : WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO GIORDANO BRUNO

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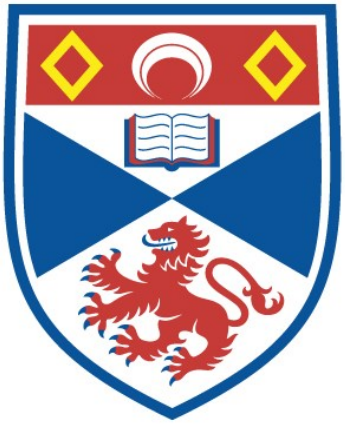
A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Gareth Joseph Downes

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews, August 2001.

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Abstract

In this thesis I explore the complex nature of James Joyce's relationship with Giordano Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement*, *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and *Ulysses*. I employ an historicist methodology, and examine Joyce's encounter with Bruno in the context of the discursive environment of contemporary Roman Catholicism, specifically in relation to the triumph of Ultramontanism within the Church and the emergence and suppression of Roman Catholic Modernism. I argue that an historicist examination of this relationship provides an extremely effective means of realising some of the urgency and offensiveness of Joyce's critical engagement with contemporary Catholicism. I discuss the manner in which Joyce's encounter with Bruno's writings and legacy in the 1900s steeled him in his own struggle with Catholic orthodoxy, and I explore the significance of the heretical trace of Bruno's philosophical and cosmological writings in Joyce's novels from 1904 to 1922.

Perhaps my best years are gone. When there was a chance of happiness. But I wouldn't want them back. Not with the fire in me now. No, I wouldn't want them back.

Samuel Beckett, *Krapps Last Tape*.

I Mummy, Dadi, Bethan, Cormac a Damien, gyda pob cariad a bendith.

Diolch i chi gyd am popeth.

Contents

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Gareth Joseph Downes
St. Andrews
1997-2001

List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used throughout this thesis:

Works by, or referring to, James Joyce:

CW	*The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, eds. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1964)
D	*Dubliners*, ed. Terence Brown (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992)
FW	*Finnegans Wake*, ed. Seamus Deane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992)
Letters I	*Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. I, ed. Stuart Gilbert (London: Faber and Faber, 1952)
Letters II & Letters III	*Letters of James Joyce*, Vols. II and III, ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1966)
P	*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. Seamus Deane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992)
SH	*Stephen Hero*, ed. Theodore Spence, rev. eds. John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon (London: Paladin, 1991)

SL	*Selected Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellman (London: Faber and Faber, 1992)
U	*Ulysses*, The Corrected Text, eds. Hans Walter Gabler and others (London: The Bodley Head, 1993)
JJ	Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982)
MBK	Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1957)

[...] his attitude towards Catholicism was more like that of the gargoyles outside the Church than of the saints within it.

Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*.

Other wrangle with little roundhead rogue's eye Ghezzi. This time about Bruno the Nolan. Begin in Italian and ended in pidgin English. He said Bruno was a terrible heretic. I said he was terribly burned. He agreed to this with some sorrow. Then gave me recipe for what he calls *risotto alla bergamasca*.

James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

The proud potent titles clanged over Stephen's memory the triumph of their brazen bells: *et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam*: the slow growth and change of rite and dogma like his own rare thoughts, a chemistry of stars.

James Joyce, *Ulysses*.

A heresy is only a rejected variation; but the principle of heresy is a principle of progress and life.

George Tyrrell, *Letters from a Modernist*.

Introduction

Always historicise.

Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.[1]

> To look at the symbolic dimensions of social action — art, religion, ideology, science, law, morality, common sense — is not to turn away from the existential dilemmas of life for some empyrean realm of de-emotionalized forms; it is to plunge into the midst of them. The essential vocation of interpretative anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said.

Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*.[2]

In this thesis I undertake an historicist examination of James Joyce's complex struggle with the Roman Catholic Church of his upbringing and education in *The Day of the Rabblement*, *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and *Ulysses*. I examine the nature of his critical engagement with the Church in the context of the discursive environment of contemporary Roman Catholicism, and the significance of the concept of heresy in Joyce's writings, specifically in relation to the triumph of Ultramontanism within the Church and the emergence and suppression of Roman Catholic Modernism as the

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[1] Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 9.
[2] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), p. 30.

"synthesis of all heresies."[3] This examination is effected through a sustained reading of the changing nature of Joyce's dialogue with Giordano Bruno in his writings from 1901 to 1922. Bruno is the sixteenth-century Italian philosopher who was tried and condemned by the Inquisition as an obstinate and unrepentant heretic and burned at the stake in the Campo dei Fiori in Rome in February 1600. It has long been a mainstay of Joycean criticism that Joyce first encountered the writings of Bruno while an undergraduate at University College, Dublin, and that years later he appropriated and employed the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as a principle of formal technique in *Finnegans Wake*. Extant studies of Joyce's relationship with both Catholicism and Bruno have been largely of an ahistorical and a formalistic provenance and have failed largely to realise the subversive and heretical intent and practice of these engagements. The discussions of Joyce's dialogue with Catholicism in William T. Noon's *Joyce and Aquinas*, and in J. Mitchell Morse's *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Sympathetic Alien*, are shaped by the practice and prohibitions of the New and practical criticism of 1950s Anglo-American academia.[4] Richard Brown has argued in *James Joyce: A Post-Culturalist Perspective* that the formalistic examination of Joyce's piratical appropriation and employment of liturgical, biblical and scholastic structures has largely obscured "Joyce's lifelong Faustian and secularist struggle against the Catholic Church."[5] Elliot B. Gose and Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, in *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* and *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul*, have conducted

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[3] Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 7.
[4] William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957); J. Mitchell Morse, *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Sympathetic Alien* (New York: New York University Press, 1959).

relatively extensive examinations of the presence and significance of Bruno's philosophy in *Ulysses*.[6] However, there has been no book-length study of Joyce's dialogue with Bruno; no substantial consideration of the context in which Joyce encountered his writings, and the status of the philosophy of the anathematised "heresiarch of Nola" (*CW* 132) for Catholic orthodoxy; and there has been no exploration of the manner in which Joyce's engagement with the writings and legacy of Bruno can be seen to function in his "open war" (*Letters II* 48) with contemporary Catholicism. Bruno occupies a vestigial yet significant position in Joyce's critical engagements with contemporary Catholicism, and his interest in Bruno is related intimately to the manner in which he conceives of this engagement as an heretical struggle. In this thesis I argue that an historicist examination of this relationship provides an extremely effective means of realising some of the urgency and offensiveness of Joyce's critical engagement with the Church. I discuss the manner in which Joyce's encounter with Bruno's writings and legacy in the 1900s steeled him in his own struggle with Catholic orthodoxy, and I explore the significance of the heretical trace of Bruno's philosophical and cosmological writings in Joyce's novels from 1904 to 1922.

The absence of an historicist reading of Joyce and Catholicism is a glaring sin of omission in the discipline of Joycean criticism, and the expanding field of Irish literary and cultural studies. That the Roman Catholic Church has maintained a privileged and influential position within Irish society has never been a matter of any doubt, and it is curious that in recent criticism of Joyce, and

[5] Richard Brown, *James Joyce: A Post-Culturalist Perspective* (London: Macmillan, 1992), p. xix.

in studies of Irish literature and culture, very little account has been given of the Church's hegemony in Ireland in comparison with the extensive appraisals of the cultural and political impact of British imperialism and Irish nationalism. For Stephen Daedalus in *Stephen Hero*, "The Roman not the Sassenach, was [...] the tyrant of the islanders." (*SH* 57) Eamon Hughes's 'Joyce and Catholicism', an excellent essay that appeared in *Irish Writers and Religion* in 1992, and Terry Eagleton's *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*, published in 1995, are among the few studies to have explored respectively both the historical context in which Joyce enunciated his struggle with Catholicism, and the hegemony of the Church in Ireland.[7] However, these suggestive studies have not yet provoked further critical debate. It is the unresolved nature of the complex colonial relationship that exists between Britain and Ireland that understandably commands the greatest critical attention. The launch of *Semicolonial Joyce* occurred at the XVII International James Joyce Symposium at Goldsmiths College, University of London, in June 2000. This seminal book is a collection of essays that explore the importance of Ireland's colonial situation in the understanding of Joyce's work, by such leading critics of Joyce and Irish studies as Seamus Deane, Enda Duffy, David Lloyd, Joseph Valente and Luke Gibbons, and edited by Marjorie Howes and Derek Attridge. Its launch at the Symposium is testament to the current centrality and dominance of postcolonial critical approaches to the historicist examination of Joyce's writings. In 'Forgetting the Future: An Outline History of Irish Literary Studies', an article

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[6] Elliot B. Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980); Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

[7] Eamon Hughes, 'Joyce and Catholicism', *Irish Writers and Religion*, ed. Robert Welch (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1992); Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London: Verso, 1995).

that appeared in *The Irish Review* in 2000, Hughes states: "Post-colonialism is now at the point where it can be identified as a dominant within Irish criticism."[8] I would not disagree with the validity of reading Joyce as a "postcolonial writer,"[9] and admire and appreciate greatly the enormous contribution to the understanding of Joyce that has been made by postcolonial readings of his work. However, the dominance of postcolonial theoretical approaches to the historicist reading of Joyce's writing has produced arguably a critical field that has become relatively restrictive and in which it is difficult to explore other aspects of Joyce's work in their historical context. While Joyce went into "voluntary exile" (*Letters II* 84) on the continent in 1904 with Nora Barnacle, and lived his entire adult life outside of Ireland, his writings demonstrate an obsession with the reality of material and spiritual life in colonial Edwardian Ireland. However, the Catholicism of his upbringing and education gave him access to the intellectual, philosophical, artistic and literary traditions of Catholic Europe, and in his residency in Trieste, Pola, Rome and Paris, he lived in social formations in which the Roman Catholic Church occupied significant and influential positions. There have been historicist studies of Joyce that are not concerned primarily with Joyce's status as a postcolonial writer. *James Joyce, 'Ulysses' and the Construction of Jewish Identity: Culture, Biography, and the 'Jew' in Modernist Europe* by Neil R. Davison, *James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of 'Ulysses'* by Paul Vanderham, and *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* by Joseph Kelly, are notable and excellent examples of significant recent studies of Joyce that employ an historicist methodology and which are not concerned exclusively

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[8] Eamon Hughes, 'Forgetting the Future: An Outline History of Irish Literary Studies', *The Irish Review*, 25 (Winter-Spring 1999/2000), p. 6.

[9] Emer Nolan, 'State of the Art: Joyce and Postcolonialism', *Semicolonial Joyce*, eds. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 78.

with reading Joyce's discursive engagement with British imperialism and Irish nationalism. However, postcolonialism remains the dominant theoretical approach to the historicist reading of Joyce, and for any critic concerned with undertaking an historicist appraisal of his work it is a discourse that is not to be thought away. *Semicolonial Joyce* reflects this predominance, and in its format, accessibility, and design, it looks set to be as influential during the first decade of the twenty-first century as *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, published in 1990 also under the editorship of Attridge, proved to be as a template for Joyce scholarship during the 1990s. In his essay in *Semicolonial Joyce*, '"Have you no homes to go to": James Joyce and the Politics of Paralysis', Gibbons does discuss the role of the Church in the modernisation of Ireland in the post-Famine period, and the significance of the 'devotional revolution'. However, in this seminal collection there is little or no consideration of the role or influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the colonial and postcolonial social formations of Ireland in the early twentieth century, and little indication that postcolonial and historicist critics of Joyce intend to appraise the position of the Church in the Irish colonial situation.

In this introduction I will discuss briefly those recent critical accounts of Joyce which, whether operating within the theoretical paradigms of post-structuralism, deconstruction, French feminism, New Historicism, and postcolonialism, have done so much to construct the current critical consensus that Joyce is a radical and subversive writer whose texts disrupt, de-stabilise, and reveal the fictive nature of the overly-fixed and seemingly normative discursive and narrative practices of British imperialism, Irish nationalism, and Roman Catholicism. I will also engage in some speculation concerning the relative

failure of recent excellent cultural and historicist studies to complement their extensive appraisals of Joyce's engagement with the contemporary discursive and material practices of British imperialism and Irish nationalism, with a similar appraisal of his negotiations with Roman Catholicism. It is still a curiosity that over twenty years since the publication of such ground-breaking studies as Colin MacCabe's work of 1979, *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*,[10] critical accounts of Joyce's complex negotiations with the Church of his upbringing and education in his texts, with one or two rare and notable exceptions, are frequently restricted to the relatively pat observation that Joyce reacted vehemently to the discursive and material practices of a reactionary and oppressive Church. And beyond providing an account of the role of the Irish hierarchy in the fall of Parnell, and how the social tensions resulting from that event are dramatised in the famous Christmas dinner episode in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the position of the Church in Irish society in the post-Parnell period has only warranted a vestigial presence in recent studies.[11] While I believe that the undertaking of an historicist reading of Joyce and Catholicism is both timely and overdue, I would suggest that such an absence is primarily due to the complexities and controversies that have arisen in the attempts to assimilate postcolonial discourse into the critical concerns of contemporary Joyce and Irish studies. A discussion of the Irish Church's hegemony, and its often uneasy and ambivalent relationship with both the emergent forces of Irish cultural and political nationalism and the dominant forces of the imperial British state, arguably overcomplicates the theoretical paradigms of postcolonialism, and

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[10] Colin MacCabe, *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word* (London: Macmillan, 1979).
[11] For an excellent recent account of the role of the Irish hierarchy in Parnell's fall, and Joyce's "literary Parnellism", see James Fairhall, Chapter 4: 'Growing into History', *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 112-160.

cannot easily be considered in its scrutiny of the binary oppositions at work in the colonial situation.

In *Postnationalist Ireland* Richard Kearney argues that Catholicism in Ireland, especially after the Famine, did enjoy the profoundly important psychological status of being the formerly proscribed faith of an oppressed people. However, the Irish Church's position as part of an international ecclesiastical institution that was hierarchically subject to an increasingly Ultramontane Vatican, meant that its relationship with the Irish nationalism of the majority of its adherents was frequently equivocal, and on occasion openly hostile. The pivotal role of the Church's position within the Irish social formation meant that it functioned as a highly conservative and pragmatic institution. In the period after the Act of Union the Church was concerned primarily with consolidating its position. It was scrupulous in its protection of the gains it had secured from the British state, specifically in relation to education — by the end of the nineteenth century the Church had won from the state a *de facto* separate Catholic education structure up to university level. And weary of the "wolves of disbelief" (*SH* 58), it was vigilant against any profane attempts to widen the secularisation of Irish society. Such a position placed the Church in an ambiguous relationship with both the British state and the emergent forces of Irish nationalism. Kearney writes:

> One of the main reasons the Catholic hierarchy was not officially allied to Irish nationalism, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was because it feared the nationalist-republican ideas being imported into Ireland from the French revolution were anti-

> Catholic. The fact that these were also anti-British meant, logically, that a tacit alliance of interests bound Maynooth and Westminster together: the Catholic hierarchy actually approved the abolition of the Irish parliament and union with Britain in 1800, while the English government financed the establishment of the Catholic seminary at Maynooth in 1795. After the fall of Parnell and 1916, however, it became clear to the Church that the soul of the Irish nation was up for grabs and that the need for a unifying collective identity for the newly emerging state could best be provided by a form of Catholic nationalism which allowed (in Joyce's words) 'Christ and Caesar go hand in hand'. Indeed, the 1937 Constitution of Dáil Eireann came close, at times to ratifying the equation of Catholic, Gael and Irishman. While this was modified by subsequent amendments, the strong influence of the Catholic Church on matters of state was witnessed as late as the knife-edge 1995 referendum on divorce.[12]

Although the consideration of the cultural impact of the Church on Irish society cannot be easily accommodated into the postcolonial paradigms that have come to form such a large proportion of the debate in Irish literary and cultural studies, it is a necessary complication, and one that should receive critical consideration.

If Irish literary and cultural studies is to overcome the allegation Eagleton recently made in *Crazy John and the Bishop and Other Essays on Irish Culture*, that the attempt to assimilate postcolonial discourse has contributed to a

[12] Richard Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland: Politics, Culture, Philosophy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 7-8.

"narrowness" of approach within the field (he also bemoans a "narrowness" of subject), then this very complexity should be embraced and celebrated.[13] He argues for a critical retrieval of some of the neglected figures of Irish literary history, and, while he acknowledges the significant contributions made in the field of Irish studies through the exploration of questions of gender and racial stereotyping, he is critical of the way in which discussions in this field are "shaped nowadays by what might loosely be called a postmodern agenda, which brings into play vital topics, but in so doing tends to sideline other questions of equal importance."[14] The two topics that Eagleton highlights as not featuring prominently enough, or at all, on the "postmodern menu", the consideration of which might help to "prise open a field which seems to have become rather too tightly bounded,"[15] are religion and education. While the comparatively recent application of postcolonial theoretical paradigms and models to the study of Irish literature and culture has undoubtedly enlivened debate, and provided a dynamic and divisive context in which historicist studies of Irish writers can take place, there is a risk that those very paradigms can become as overly-fixed and restrictive as the very discursive practices and narrative strategies that they seek to interrogate. I would suggest that an interrogation of the Church's hegemony, and its relation to the discursive practices of Irish nationalism and British imperialism, in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Ireland, would go some way in redressing Eagleton's charge of "narrowness".

Although it is hard to imagine a scenario in which Joyce will no longer be a totemic figure in the pantheon of English literary studies, Joycean criticism

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[13] Terry Eagleton, *Crazy John and the Bishop and Other Essays on Irish Culture* (Cork: University of Cork Press in association with Field Day, 1998), p. ix.
[14] Ibid, p. ix.
[15] Ibid, p. ix.

over the past two decades has been successful in challenging Joyce's canonical status as an apolitical revolutionary prose innovator in a High Modernist context. In *Joyce, Race and Empire*, Vincent J. Cheng condemns this canonisation as an insidious strategic sleight that has shifted "attention away from the manifestly political context and ideological discourse of Joyce's works onto his unarguably potent role and influence in stylistic revolution."[16] It was a critical redaction that was partly initiated by T. S. Eliot's 1923 review of *Ulysses*, '*Ulysses*, order and myth',[17] and which received consolidation and legitimacy during the post-war period in which the formalistic and unworldly practices of the New and practical criticisms prevailed in the institutions of Anglo-American academia.[18] Indeed, as Declan Kiberd argued in his keynote address to the XVI International James Joyce Symposium in Rome in 1998, for all the huge debt of gratitude that is owed to Richard Ellmann by subsequent generations of Joycean and Irish critics for his magisterial biography of Joyce, his reading of his life and work, perhaps more than any other, has contrived to maintain the uneasy consensus that Joyce was an international High Modernist who overcame the debilitating and oppressive circumstances of his upbringing and education in Edwardian Ireland. In *Reading Joyce Politically* Trevor L. Williams has noted that materialist and Marxist critics of the same period were also disinclined to view Joyce as a subversive, or political, writer, and *Ulysses* was regarded as no more than the creation of a decadent bourgeois mind.[19] Dominic Manganiello's 1980 study,

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[16] Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 2.

[17] T. S. Eliot, '*Ulysses*, order and myth', *Dial* 75 (November 1923), pp. 480-3.

[18] See Hughes, 'Joyce and Catholicism', *Irish Writer and Religion*, p. 117; Vincent J. Cheng, 'Of Canons, Colonies, and Critics: The Ethics and Politics of Postcolonial Joyce Studies', *Re: Joyce: Text: Culture: Politics*, eds. John Brannigan, Geoff Ward, and Julian Wolfreys (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 224.

[19] See Trevor L. Williams, Chapter 2: 'Joyce from the Left: A Brief History', *Reading Joyce Politically* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 13-55.

Joyce's Politics, was of considerable significance in challenging the received wisdom that Joyce was an apolitical writer who merely occupied a position of mischievous neutrality.[20] And Seamus Deane's writings on Joyce during the 1980s were extremely influential in provoking research on the specifically Irish context of Joyce's work.[21]

A full account of the significance of the critical interest in Joyce amongst French post-structuralist theorists is not the focus of this thesis. However, it should be noted that the enthusiastic celebration of Joyce's writings by Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Hélène Cixous, and Julia Kristeva, in reading Joyce as a proto-deconstructionist writer whose texts frustrate the phallogocentric narrative and discursive strategies of Western high-capitalist social formations, provided a high-profile context in which more specifically historicist studies of Joyce could take place. Although the French writer Phillipe Sollers may have brandished a copy of *Finnegans Wake* at the 1975 International James Joyce Symposium in Paris, proclaiming "Je vous montre une révolution,"[22] without an understanding of the historical conditions of constraint, there can be no real sense of the discursive shock of Joyce's determination to pass beyond the pale of those narrative strategies, whether of Roman Catholicism, British imperialism, or Irish nationalism, which seek to interpellate him as an individual subject.

Over the past decade a number of critics in Ireland, Britain and North America have been instrumental in contextualising the theoretical assertions

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[20] See Dominic Manganiello, *Joyce's Politics* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).

[21] See Seamus Deane, *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985); 'Joyce and Nationalism', *James Joyce: New Perspectives*, ed. Colin MacCabe (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester, 1982), pp. 168-83); 'Joyce the Irishman', *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 31-54.

[22] Phillipe Sollers, 'Political Perspectives on Joyce's Work', *Joyce & Paris: 1902 ... 1920-1940 ... 1975*, eds. Jacques Aubert and Maria Jolas, vol. 2, (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1979), p. 107;

made by post-structuralism for Joyce's realisation of a radical *écriture*. Of the book-length studies that have attempted to scrutinise the assertion that "Joyce's writings dismantle those traditional ideologies that render us sexed and civil subjects,"[23] by a more discriminating, and less theoretically-bound, historicism, James Fairhall's *James Joyce and the Question of History*, Emer Nolan's *James Joyce and Nationalism*, and, to a certain extent, Cheng's *Joyce, Race and Empire* and Enda Duffy's *The Subaltern 'Ulysses'*, all published in the early to mid 1990s, have articulated some of the conditions of constraint that Joyce's writings negotiate. Although the focus of their historicist analyses is primarily the nature of British imperialist and Irish nationalist discourse in the Irish social formation prior to partition, Fairhall and Nolan do devote a not insignificant amount of space to the discursive position of the Church, and its often ambivalent relations with the British state, and the emergent forces of Irish nationalism. The necessary strictures of their individual theses dictate that this relationship is only partly considered, and as Nolan, Duffy and Cheng's studies are, to varying degrees, articulated within the discursive paradigms of postcolonialism, the Irish Church, which can neither be unequivocally identified as an Althusserian Ideological State Apparatus of the British state nor as a legitimating force for the claims of Irish nationalism, is not subjected to similar scrutiny.[24]

In *Joyce and Nationalism*, Nolan argues that although post-structuralist and French feminist readings of Joyce have been indispensable in realising the politically radical nature of his texts, the historical moment in which that thinking emerged in France complicates its application in other contexts. As she

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cited in Suzette Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 205.

[23] Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. xiii.

notes, post-structuralism developed as a critique of totalitarian and monolithic systems, and the hegemony enjoyed by the bourgeois high-capitalist social formations of the West, and as such, its analyses of nationalism occurs within the context of the experience and interrogation of European fascism. Nationalism, in this respect, cannot be examined without recourse to the consideration of the formation of notions of essentialist racial and national identity in Romanticism, and the rise of fascism in Europe. Nolan argues that the "full complexity of nationalism in the political culture of modernity"[25] has not been properly understood, and in her book attempts to read Irish nationalism, and Joyce's relationship with it, in a manner which the more restrictive analyses of nationalism in post-structuralism do not permit. (Nolan does not observe that the rise of fascism in the Irish Free State in the 1930s, in the form of the Eoin O'Duffy's Blue Shirts, was more a result of reactionary Catholic fears of godless Communism than the construction of essentialist notions of Irish identity). Her awareness of the context in which post-structuralist discourse has been enunciated, and her argument for a more pragmatic and discriminating application of its theoretical paradigms, is instructive. If a post-structuralist analysis of Joyce and Irish nationalism is frustrated by the very conception of nationalism in that discourse, I would suggest that part of the reason for the continued absence of an appraisal of Joyce and contemporary Catholicism is that in contemporary literary and cultural theory there has been very little consideration of the nature and manner of the discursive practices of ecclesiastical institutions in any given social formation, and consequently there

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[24] See Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)', *Essays on Ideology* (London: Verso, 1984), pp. 1-60.
[25] Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism*, p. xiii.

have been very few literary studies of a given writer and his or her reaction to such practices.

It is not out of reverence or fear of causing offence that the ideological nature of institutional religion, and the ontological status of religious belief, is seldom subjected to theoretical or critical analysis. Gauri Viswanathan has argued in *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief* that religious conviction has become "modernity's estranged self".[26] Indeed, Michael Patrick Gillespie and Paula F. Gillespie observe in *Recent Criticism of James Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Analytical Review*, that the predominance of post-structuralist discourse has "relegated metaphysics to the category of words not to be uttered in polite company".[27] Viswanathan suggests that one of the principal reasons why contemporary cultural studies has been unable to "engage in discussions of belief, conviction, or religious identity in a secular age of postmodern skepticism" is the "absence of an adequate vocabulary or language."[28] She also notes that "even sympathetic anthropologists like Clifford Geertz continue to describe belief as a state of mind rather than a constituting activity in the world."[29] Roman Catholicism, like the other Judeo-Christian religious faiths of the West, is a transcendental religion whose spiritual authority and truth is posited as anterior and posterior to existence and is derived from an extrinsic benevolent deity. Viswanathan observes that "the removal of religion from the public sphere of discussion may be a construction that itself follows upon another

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[26] Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. xiii-xiv.
[27] Michael Patrick Gillespie and Paul F. Gillespie, *Recent Criticism of James Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Analytical Review* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2000), p. 90.
[28] Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, p. xiv.
[29] Ibid, p. xv.

construction: namely, the concept of religion as transhistorical, transcultural essence."[30]

The realisation of a "vocabulary or language" adequate to an analysis of the ideological nature of institutional religion, and the ontological status of religious belief, is beyond the scope and focus of this thesis. However, I would argue that there is sufficient merit in discussing religion within the existing parameters of the discourse of literary and cultural studies. Although the Roman Catholic Church lays claim to a "transhistorical, transcultural essence", it is an international ecclesiastical institution that occupied, and continues to occupy, a powerful material and discursive presence in the social formations of Ireland. I would argue that the Irish Roman Catholic Church should be considered as a material and a discursive force. While it is not unorthodox to discuss the political, cultural and moral influence of the Church in Edwardian Ireland and the Irish Free State, I would also suggest that the ontological status of religious faith and observance should not preclude it from an historicist examination. The authority of the Church is derived from divine revelation, scripture and the deposits of faith; its doctrines, teachings, rites and liturgy have developed over the centuries; and it is concerned fundamentally with the provision of spiritual guidance and moral leadership for members of the Catholic communion. However, the proffering of such existential certitude is effected discursively and textually. As Catherine Belsey has argued in *Critical Practice*, discourse is a "domain of language use, a particular way of talking (and writing and thinking) and "involves certain shared assumptions."[31] The medium through which faith is instilled and developed is necessarily a linguistic one. The word of God is

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[30] Ibid, p. xv.
[31] Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 5.

contained in the scriptures; the doctrines and dogmatic truths of the Church are elaborated in canon law and presented to the faithful in the form of encyclical documents and pastoral letters; Catholic apologetic and theology is produced and reproduced in seminaries and Catholic universities; the sacraments are administered to the faithful in liturgical rites; and the teachings and moral precepts of the Church are presented to the laity in churches and in Catholic-administered schools. While such an interpretation may be considered atheistic or crudely materialist, I would suggest that a reification of ecclesiastical and ontological language and practice is a necessary prelude to an analysis of the discursive influence of a religious institution in a given social formation. Furthermore, while I argue for the textual status of ontology, I also wish to argue that the ontological status of texts should not be dismissed. According to Catholic apologetic and theology, the provenance of the Roman Catholic Church is divine, and the Holy Spirit guides the Church. Although, the authority of the Church comes from a "Kingdom [that] is not of this world",[32] it has temporal existence as a material and discursive institution. George Tyrrell, a Dublin-born Jesuit and Roman Catholic Modernist, argued in 1907 in *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or, The Old Theology and the New* that theology and apologetic were "departments of human knowledge",[33] that is, the contingent utterances or discourses of historically situated humanity. The teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church have a material reality. Catholicism is thus a material force, or what the Native Americans called an "idea that walks."[34]

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[32] John: 19:36.
[33] George Tyrrell, *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or, The Old Theology and the New* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 7.
[34] Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), p. xiii.

In Chapter 5 of *A Portrait* Stephen Dedalus is discussing with Cranly his reasons for leaving the Church of his upbringing and education, and for leaving Ireland. Cranly tries to temper the obstinacy of Stephen's reasoning, and says:

> [...] you need not look upon yourself as driven away if you do not wish to go or as a heretic or an outlaw. There are many good believers who think as you do. Would that surprise you? The church is not the stone building nor even the clergy and their dogmas. It is the whole mass of those born into it. (*P* 267)

However, for Joyce, as for Stephen, the Church in Edwardian Dublin was a stone building of the clergy and its dogmas. It was a material and discursive institution that was not to be thought away. I would argue that Joyce's engagement with Catholicism is of a greater complexity and of more significance in terms of his attempt to forge an unfettered Irish consciousness, than his negotiation with the discourses of British imperialism and Irish nationalism. Though it cannot be seen at a remove from those other engagements. In *A Portrait* Stephen declares famously to Davin that he will endeavour to fly by the entangling nets of "nationality, language, religion." (*P* 220) Although recent studies of Joyce's negotiations with the nets of British imperialism and Irish nationalism have made an enormous contribution to the field of Irish studies, there is a pressing need for a study of the entangling nature of that final net, "religion."

Joyce did evince anticlericalist opposition to the political influence of the Church in Edwardian Ireland, particularly in relation to the Irish hierarchy's role in the downfall of Parnell. However, his "open war" with the Church was

motivated primarily by his frustration with the authoritarian and anti-intellectual temper of Ultramontane Catholicism, and his own inability to realise a condition of existential certitude in the doctrines and teachings of the Church. Although the Irish Roman Catholic Church is an autonomous ecclesiastical institution, it is also a constituent See of an international and hierarchical ecclesiastical organisation, the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church. In *Stephen Hero* Stephen Daedalus argues: "The idea that the power of an empire is weakest at its borders requires some modification for everyone knows that the Pope cannot govern Italy as he governs Ireland". (*SH* 152) In *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* Eagleton defines the concept of hegemony as follows:

> Hegemony is a matter of what Gramsci calls 'intellectual and moral direction'; and, though the word is sometimes used in his work to include both coercion and consent, it refers chiefly to that 'permanently organised consent' by which modern states exercise their authority.[35]

The concept of hegemony is concerned with the manner in which men and women are interpellated as "sexed and civil subjects." Although this concept of subjectivity refers primarily to the analysis of the "peculiar resilience of bourgeois rule — a rule which operates more through the consensual life of civil society than through coercive instruments of the state",[36] Eagleton argues that it can be employed in an interpretation of the relationship between the Catholic

[35] Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*, p. 27.
[36] Ibid, p. 27.

Church and the laity, particularly in the Irish colonial situation in which there was a blurring of the boundaries between religious identity and national identity. He writes:

> The other great institution of civil society is religion; and here it was the misfortune of the Anglo-Irish to find themselves up against not only the most supremely capable form of hegemony in the country, but the most enduring form of hegemony in human history. No institution has rivalled the power of the Roman Catholic Church to secure, across centuries and continents, the allegiance of its subjects. The Church is, in effect an oligarchy; but within its structures, prelates and peasants are linked by a common vision in a social order with all the Byzantine apparatus of a political state yet all the intimacy of a family. In this stratified yet corporate society, intellectuals (theologians) and the masses (laity) share the same faith on different levels: what the former articulate as doctrine the latter live out as pious observance.[37]

In May 1906 Joyce described *Dubliners* as a "chapter of the moral history of my country", and argued that in composing it he had "taken the first step towards the spiritual liberation" (*Letters I* 62-3) of Ireland. And Stephen Dedalus declares famously at the end of *A Portrait*: "I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated

[37] Ibid, p. 76.

conscience of my race." (*P* 275-76) In this thesis, through a sustained reading of Joyce's dialogue with Bruno, I examine the manner in which he negotiates the spiritual and intellectual hegemony of contemporary Catholicism, and I argue that this negotiation is conceived as an heretical struggle. His negotiations with the Church are both anticlericalist and ontological in status. His attempt to "forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" is a radical and heretical desire to realise a sustaining mode of vision, and is an implicit attack on the moribund intellectual and spiritual influence of the Church in the post-Parnell period. While this thesis examines the historical context in which he enunciated his texts, I do not wish to lose sight of the ontological implications of Joyce's writings. However, it is only through the undertaking of sustained and extensive contextualisation that the discursive shock of Joyce's heretical struggle can be realised.

In Chapter 5 of *A Portrait* Cranly tells Stephen Dedalus "It is a curious thing, do you know, [...] how your mind is supersaturated with the religion in which you say you disbelieve." (*P* 261) Joyce's writings are similarly supersaturated in the religion in which he avowed his disbelief. For secular or non-Catholic readers unfamiliar with the teachings, doctrines, rites and liturgy of Catholicism it is likely that the subtlety and complexity of Joyce's engagement is largely missed. Indeed, even for the Catholic reader born, brought up and educated in the period after the reforms of the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s, and of an Irish background, the Catholicism represented in the writings of Joyce, while readily recognisable, is sufficiently distinct to problematise or hinder an apprehension of the subversive nature of his engagement. The Tridentine rite is an unfamiliar and alien liturgy; as are the politics of

Ultramontanism, the intensity and frequency of religious observance and devotional practice, and the scholastic emphasis of Catholic apologetic and theology. In this thesis I contextualise Joyce's reaction to Catholicism through a discussion of the emergence and suppression of Roman Catholic Modernism, an event that coincided with the period in which Joyce was born, brought up and educated. To use a concept from Michel Foucault, the Catholicism of the 1900s belongs to a different epistemic period and it is only through a sustained historicist analysis of Joyce's engagement with the rites and dogmas of the Church, and his dialogue with the writings of the anathematised Bruno, that the ideological status of his struggle with Catholicism can be realised.

Furthermore, Bruno is a complex figure who has yet to make the precarious journey from a position of anathematised obscurity to one that can be considered in anyway canonical. His writings, placed on *The Index of Prohibited Books* after his death in 1600, are not readily obtainable, and research on his life and work remains a coterie interest. Although Joyce's interest in Bruno has "become one of the clichés of Joyce criticism (especially criticism of *Finnegans Wake*)",[38] there has been little or no consideration of the circumstances surrounding the revival of interest in his work during the nineteenth century, or the manner in which his name was appropriated by the forces of Italian anticlericalism in its discursive campaign against the privileged position of the Vatican in the Italian peninsula prior to the unification of Italy. There has been excellent research undertaken on the significance of the presence of Bruno's writings in *Ulysses*. However, Gose and Theoharis's studies are lacking in historicist scrutiny, and they do not consider substantially the status of Bruno's

[38] Theoharis, *James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 41.

philosophy for Catholic orthodoxy, or examine the manner in which Joyce's appropriation of Brunonian thought can be seen as a function of his lifelong dialogue with the Church of his upbringing and education.

As I have argued, there can be no substantial understanding of the subversive and heretical nature of Joyce's dialogue with Catholicism without an apprehension of the conditions of constraint. However, the absence of any historicist readings of Joyce and Catholicism, and of Joyce and Bruno, necessitates the undertaking of substantial contextualisation. The historicist description and analysis in this thesis is thick, and the critical methodology that I employ is derived partly from the work of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz and his application of "thick description" as a theoretical concept and method of cultural analysis.[39] In 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretation of Culture' in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* Geertz argues:

> The concept of culture I espouse, and whose utility the essays below attempt to explicate, is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance which he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of a law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expression on their surface enigmatical.[40]

[39] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture*, p. 6.
[40] Ibid, p. 5.

From the relative distance of our epistemic "secular age of postmodern skepticism" it is difficult to apprehend the ideological status of Joyce's negotiations with contemporary Catholicism, and interpret the nature of his dialogue with Bruno. If any given culture is understood as a system that contains "webs of significance" it is only by attempting to uncover the processes of signification within a specific culture that the meaning of a given utterance or "social expression" can be construed. Geertz argues that what the interpreter of culture, and the interpreter of cultural or social expression, is "in fact faced with [...] is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive to grasp and then to render."[41] The discussion of Joyce's writings in the context of the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church in Edwardian Ireland, the triumph of Ultramontanism and the neo-scholastic revival within the Church, the emergence and suppression of Roman Catholic Modernism, and the writings and legacy of Giordano Bruno, may appear a contrived and improbable constellation. However, without such "thick description" the ideological nature of Joyce's negotiations with Catholicism cannot be realised fully, and the understanding of his dialogue with Bruno will be restricted to the clichéd observation that Joyce encountered the writings of the Nolan while an undergraduate and years later employed the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as a principle of formal technique in *Finnegans Wake*.

[41] Ibid, p. 10.

Chapter One

'You be damned! Kissmearse! I'm infallible!': James Joyce, Ultramontanism, Scholasticism and the Condemnation of Roman Catholic Modernism.

> That We [the Holy Father] should act without delay in this matter is made imperative especially by the fact that the partisans of error are to be sought not only among the Church's open enemies; but, what is to be most dreaded and deplored, in her very bosom, and are the more mischievous the less they keep in the open. We allude, Venerable Brethren, to many who belong to the Catholic laity, and, what is much more sad, to the ranks of the priesthood itself, who, animated by false zeal for the Church, lacking the solid safeguards of philosophy and theology, nay more, thoroughly imbued with the poisonous doctrines taught by the enemies of the Church, and lost to all sense of modesty, put themselves forward as reformers of the Church; and, forming more boldly into line of attack, assail all that is most sacred in the work of Christ, not sparing even the Person of the Divine Redeemer, Whom, with sacrilegious audacity, they degrade to the condition of a simple and ordinary man [...]
>
> Pius X, *Pascendi dominici gregis*.[1]

I: Introduction

In this chapter I will focus on the fervid intellectual climate that prevailed within Catholicism during the period in which James Joyce was born, brought up, educated, and grew to maturity. I will discuss the increasingly Ultramontane character of ecclesiastical authority; the establishment of scholasticism as the

touchstone of orthodoxy; the attempt by certain Catholic scholars, such as Alfred Loisy and George Tyrrell, to realise a new Catholic apologetic capable of withstanding the pressures of modern culture; and the ultimate condemnation of such Modernist scholarship by Pius X in 1907. In a letter that he wrote to Stanislaus Joyce in August 1906, Joyce stated: "For my part I believe that to establish the church in full power again in Europe would mean a renewal of the Inquisition — though, of course, the Jesuits tell us that the Dominicans never broke men on the wheel or tortured them on the rack." (*Letters II* 148) However, in this period the Ultramontane Roman hierarchy, whose authority had recently been strengthened through the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870, and the increased centralisation of ecclesiastical government, attempted vigorously to silence the intellectual disquiet and calls for reform amongst Catholic scholars and intellectuals through the successor of the Inquisition, the Holy Office. Modernist scholars, such as Alfred Loisy and Lucien Laberthonnière, saw their writings placed on the recently re-established *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*The Index of Prohibited Books*),[2] condemned by Pius X's encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* as "the synthesis of all heresies",[3] and were ultimately excommunicated, driven out of the Church as heretics, when they refused obstinately to recant and submit to ecclesiastical authority. It was a period in which the Church was an extremely authoritarian institution which could brook neither dissent nor criticism from its "deviant insiders",[4] and which acted with considerable discursive violence to silence such disquiet and dissent. Although

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[1] Pius X, *Pascendi dominici gregis*, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, ed. Bernard M. G. Reardon (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 237-238.

[2] The new *Index* was re-established on 17 September 1900 by Leo XIII. See J. N. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 312.

[3] Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 7.

Joyce was equally violent in his apostasy, and was free of the institutional constraints in which priest-scholars such as Alfred Loisy and George Tyrrell laboured, his forceful rejection of "the whole present social order and Christianity — home, the recognised virtues, classes of life, and religious doctrines", (*Letters II* 48) did not come without a price. In his determination to fly by the entangling nets of "nationality, language, religion", (*P* 220) Joyce would come to occupy an oppositional site that was an anathema to the Church of his upbringing and education.

To appraise Joyce's profane struggle with the highly authoritarian nature of Catholicism at the turn of the century, it is necessary to take account of the embattled position of the Church during this period, and the manner in which it responded to not only the anticlericalism that was endemic in European intellectual life in the post-Enlightenment period, and also the attempts by a loose-knit network of Catholic intellectuals, lay and clerical, to bring "Roman Catholic theology into alignment with developments in contemporary critical thought."[5] This chapter will focus primarily upon the intellectual crisis within Catholicism as it was experienced outside of Ireland. Although, as Eamon Hughes has noted in 'Joyce and Catholicism' in *Irish Writers and Religion*, the Church conceives of itself "as a monolithic and absolutist structure (a seamless robe)",[6] as a material institution functioning within separate social formations, the Roman Catholic churches of Europe necessarily faced different pressures. Hughes writes, "Each part of the Church is (in doctrinal terms, or has to be) whole in itself and capable of offering teaching, communion and access to

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[4] Ibid, p. 2.

[5] Gabriel Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 2.

transcendence [...] The Church, despite its hierarchies, is not one concentrated centre and a widespread periphery or a series of peripheries; it is rather a series of centres all relative to each other."[7] In *Church, Nation, State in Ireland: 1890-1921* David W. Miller argues that the Irish Church did not face the same difficulties as those faced on the continent, and was more concerned with consolidating its position and influence rather than retaining it.[8] Although I will discuss the powerful yet anomalous position of the Irish Church in Irish society at greater length in the course of this thesis, I would argue that the extremely authoritarian nature of the Irish Church was, partly, a reaction to the crisis that was felt more keenly by the continental churches.

In *Stephen Hero* Stephen Daedalus observes with contempt the Vatican's appointment of Paul Cullen as the first Irish cardinal in 1866: "in reward for several centuries of obscure fidelity the Pope's Holiness had presented a tardy cardinal to an island which was for him, perhaps, only the afterthought of Europe." (*SH* 58) Under the pastorship of Cullen the Ultramontanist party became dominant within the Irish Church, a movement within the Church that favoured the centralised authority and influence of the Pope as opposed to local independence. With the Irish Church in thrall to the authoritarian temper of the Roman hierarchy, and the laity participating enthusiastically in the devotional revolution from the 1870s onwards, there was little dissatisfaction with the Church's explanation of the mysteries of religious faith by the means of a "facile

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[6] Eamon Hughes, 'Joyce and Catholicism', *Irish Writers and Religion*, ed. Robert Welch (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1992), p. 117.
[7] Ibid, p. 125.
[8] See David W. Miller, *Church, Nation, State in Ireland: 1890-1921* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1975).

scholasticism."[9] The atmosphere at the national seminary at Maynooth was prudish and anti-intellectual, and, as Miller notes, any prospect of genuine scholarship was effectively stifled by the hierarchy's overweening fear of an heretical departure from the narrow scholasticism endorsed by the Roman magesterium as the touchstone of orthodoxy. Miller writes of Walter MacDonald, a professor of theology at Maynooth:

> [...] MacDonald himself had been denied an international reputation because the Irish bishops were so afraid that any new theological idea might be infected with modernism that they forced him to send his books to the Roman authorities before they were published. Rome faced with the choice of endorsing novel ideas untested by scholarly controversy or refusing permission to publish, repeatedly chose the latter course, even though theologians from most Catholic countries would not have had to go through this disheartening procedure unless *after* publication a charge of heresy had been made.[10]

In this respect, the vigilance of the Irish hierarchy ensured that the accusation of heresy would not be directed towards Ireland during the Modernist crisis. However, an Irishman, the Dublin-born Jesuit George Tyrrell, whose tempestuous career I shall discuss at greater length in the course of this chapter, was to play a decisive role in the development of Modernist thinking in England.

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[9] Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-1985* (London: Fontana, 1981), p. 30.
[10] Miller, *Church, Nation, State in Ireland*, pp. 240-41.

His "furia irlandaise"[11] [sic] in the face of censure and papal condemnation was to precipitate his dismissal from the Society of Jesus, and his ultimate excommunication in 1907. The Irish Church was not directly embroiled in the Modernist crisis, and there were no George Tyrrells to cause unrest and embarrassment for the Irish hierarchy. Its response to the threat posed by the "wolves of disbelief", (*SH* 58) was to embrace the Roman hierarchy's spirit of narrow authoritarianism, and the thirteenth-century understanding of knowledge and faith that was implicit in its neo-scholasticism. It was content to have the "ugly, broad ditch"[12] that existed between the historically situated individual and an objective transcendental order, that so concerned Tyrrell and the Modernist scholars, ignored, or crossed by means of the 'devotional revolution' which provided the laity with a considerably more experiential form of worship. In *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, it is evident that Joyce found such a response ultimately insubstantial and incapable of proffering philosophical certitude, and, as can be see from the following passage in *Stephen Hero*, he was equally contemptuous of the Church's Ultramontane character and the laity's uncritical acquiescence:

> The idea that the power of empire is weakest at its borders requires some modification for everyone knows that the Pope cannot govern Italy as he governs Ireland [...] The bands of pilgrims who are shepherded across the continent by their Irish

[11] This description of Tyrrell's intemperate response to the condemnation of modernism is attributed to his friend and fellow modernist scholar, the French Jesuit Henri Bremond. Whilst many of the modernists responded with caution to the promulgation of *Pascendi*, Tyrrell went on the offensive, and bitterly attacked the authoritarian temper of Pius X's papacy. M. T. Perrin, ed., *Labethonnière et ses amis* (Paris, 1975), p. 167; cited Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 205.

> pastors must shame the jaded reactionaries of the eternal city by their stupified intensity of worship. (*SH* 152)

The Modernist crisis was peripheral to the concerns of the Irish hierarchy, and its occupation of an Ultramontanist position was partly necessitated by the Church's need to establish itself as an institution within the Irish social formation after its long suppression during the Penal times. However, as Miller notes, the Irish hierarchy was keenly aware of the difficulties of the Catholic Church on the continent. The Church was troubled by anticlericalist demands for Church-State separation; the increasing alienation of the working classes from the Church; and, the application of scientific forms of criticism to Biblical studies and theology which threatened to reduce the objective truths of the Church to mere contingent, historically situated pronouncements.[13] It was a period of intense social conflict and disquiet, in which the future of Catholicism was felt to be at risk, and the Irish Church's occupation of an authoritarian and anti-intellectual discursive position, which Joyce repudiated so fervently, was a strategic response to the pressures of modern culture. The Irish Church thus created a discursive environment in which dissent and transgression were not to be contemplated. There was to be no accommodation with the forces of secularisation; "the wolves of disbelief" were to be kept at bay.

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[12] Ibid, p 57.

II: 'The wolves of disbelief': The Church's Reaction to Secular Culture, the Triumph of Ultramontanism and the Neo-Scholastic Revival.

During his sojourn in Rome in 1906 Joyce spent some time in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, undertook some research on the events of First Vatican Council, and paid particular attention to the circumstances of the promulgation of *Pasto aeternus*. In a letter to his brother Stanislaus on 13 November 1906, Joyce writes:

> I was today in the *Biblioteca Vittoria Emanuele*, looking up the account of the Vatican Council of 1870. Before the final proclamation many of the clerics left Rome in protest. At the proclamation when the dogma was read out the Pope said 'Is that all right, gents?' All the gents said 'Placet' but two said 'Non placet'. But the Pope 'You be dammed! Kissmearse! I'm infallible.' (*Letters II* 192)

In his fine study of the development, condemnation and suppression of the Modernist movement within Catholicism, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Roman Catholic Modernism and Integralism*, Gabriel Daly observes that the period after the First Vatican Council was one in which there was a "skilfully organised retreat from the jungle of post-Enlightenment ideas to the *hortus conclusus* of an artificially constructed theology."[14] Pius IX's apostolic letter *Aeterni patris* of June 1868 convoked the First Vatican Council. The

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[13] See Miller, *Church, Nation, State in Ireland*, p. 28.

General Council was summoned to deal with the problems of the times and resulted in the declaration that the definition of the Pope on questions of faith and morals was infallible, and not the result of the consent of the Church. The declaration of papal infallibility was a triumph for the Ultramontanist party that believed that an increased centralisation of authority within the Church was the only means of withstanding the pressures of modern culture. Pius IX had repeatedly condemned the perceived prevalence of unsound teaching within the Church, and had called for a return to the teaching of Aquinas. In 1864 he published a 'Syllabus of Errors' with the encyclical *Quanto cura*, which was a categorical denunciation of the "principal errors of our times", and rejected publicly the proposition that "The Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile and adapt himself to progress, liberalism and modern civilization."[15] This gradual limitation to the office of the Pope, and the ecumenical council he convened, of the power to define orthodoxy produced an intellectual climate that was increasingly absolutist and intolerant of any discursive attempts to stray beyond the narrowly defined boundaries. The theology of the *teaching* Church was significantly affected by the declaration, and, as Daly writes, "a reinforced theology of papal primacy facilitated centralisation, not only of Church government, but also of the theological elaboration and defence of Roman Catholic belief."[16]

The cultivation of a spirit of medieval absolutism within Catholicism that was centred hierarchically on the Roman pontiff was a triumph for the

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[14] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 189.

[15] Pius IX, "The Syllabus of the Principle Errors of our Times", H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, eds., *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitiorum et Declarationem de Rebus Fidei et Morum*, 34th edn. (Freiburg, 1967), p. 2980; cited in Nicholas Sagovsky, *'On God's Side': A Life of George Tyrrell* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 59.

[16] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 9.

Ultramontanist party within the Church. The gravitation towards a pole of religious unity and authority by many Catholics, lay as well as clerical, was largely a reaction to the rise of strong republican nationalism and theological liberalism during the nineteenth century. The Papal States, in which the pontiff wielded autocratic power, were synonymous with the rights and claims of the *ancien régime* in Europe, and in the post-Enlightenment period they were symbolic of all that was dogmatic, benighted and reactionary. The temporal domain of the papacy had been invaded during the revolutionary year of 1848, and Pius IX had been forced to flee from Rome. As Lester R. Kurtz argues in *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism*, Pius IX began his pontificate with the liberal intention of reforming ecclesiastical structures, but the annexation of the Papal States by the republican forces of Italian nationalism, and the establishment of the short-lived Roman Republic, resulted in the adoption of an increasingly reactionary discursive position.[17]

The events of 1848 left a profound impression on the Roman hierarchy. The Irish ecclesiastic Paul Cullen had been in Rome in 1848 with Propaganda (the Sacred Congregation for Propagating the Faith), the office through which Rome was in communication with the Irish Church, and, as with many other clerics, the experience precipitated in him a fervant hatred of liberalism and republican nationalism, and the assumption of an Ultramontanist position.[18] As Kurtz observes, "Under the guidance of Pius IX, whose papacy encompassed the most tumultuous period in the Church's history, the papacy grew to the epitome of its power within, but lost a great deal of authority in the larger political

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[17] See Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, pp. 25-51.

[18] Cullen was created Ireland's first Cardinal in 1866, and "took a leading part in Vatican Council I as a framer of the definition of papal infallibility." *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 522.

environment of Europe."[19] The jurisdictional primacy and infallibility of the papacy was declared a dogma of the Church in July 1870 with the promulgation of the encyclical *Pastor aeternus*, but within three months the Vatican Council was suspended as a result of the Italian invasion of the Papal States, and it was never reconvened. On 20 September 1870 Rome surrendered and its territories beyond the Vatican were ceded to the recently unified Kingdom of Italy. In this respect, the Vatican's belief that it was engaged in an embittered war against the hostile forces of secularisation and modernity in contemporary culture was not merely a rhetorical flourish. It provides a context in which to appraise the Roman hierarchy's cultivation of an institutional and philosophical climate of medievalism. Deprived of much of its political power on the continent the Church withdrew into the strictly delimited confines of a *hortus conclusus* that was, institutionally and discursively, extremely authoritarian in nature. Modern civilisation was in error, and the Roman hierarchy believed that the Church alone possessed the authority to speak on questions of morality and faith.

In Chapter V of *A Portrait* Stephen Dedalus is discussing with Cranly his reasons for abandoning the Church, and for leaving Ireland. Cranly tries to temper the obstinacy of Stephen's reasoning and says:

> [...] you need not look upon yourself as driven away if you do not wish to go or as a heretic or outlaw. There are many good believers who think as you do. Would that surprise you? The Church is not the stone building nor even the clergy and their dogma. It is the whole mass of people born into it. (*P* 267)

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[19] Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 30.

In *A Portrait* Cranly would appear to represent the voice of a liberal Catholicism that complements Stephen's Luciferian disavowal of the jurisdictional rights and claims of the Church. He attempts to persuade Stephen that Catholicism is indeed a broad church ("not the stone building nor even the clergy and their dogma.") Although the contemporary Church was a pyramidal material institution, Cranly, in a way that recalls George Tyrrell, argues for a theological elaboration of the nature and status of the visible Church in which its authority is derived from "the whole mass of people born into it", and not solely from the Roman hierarchy. In his reasoning, the Church is necessarily a diverse institution that should be capable of containing spiritual unease and heterodox belief. However, with the triumph of Ultramontanism and the promulgation of *Pasto aeternus* the magisterium attempted to define dogmatically the nature and status of the visible Church. It delineated a "two-tier ecclesiology"[20] in which the sheep-like laity were to be obediently in thrall to the shepherd-like magisterium. In a joint pastoral letter from the bishops of England and Wales, written at the behest of Merry del Val (the Papal Secretary of State and a former consultor on the *Index*), and in response to the Holy See's anxiety over contemporary liberal Catholic thinking, Cardinal Vaughn elucidated the hierarchical relationship between the magisterium and the laity. By the design of Christ the visible Church is constituted of two orders, the *Ecclesia docens* and the *Ecclesia discens*. The *Ecclesia docens* is "The small body of chosen men, assisted by the Holy Ghost, who represent the authority of Jesus Christ;" and the *Ecclesia discens* is the larger body of the faithful taught and guided and guarded

[20] Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 123.

by the Divine Teacher, speaking through the audible voice of the smaller body."[21] This definition of orthodoxy outraged Tyrrell, who, in a letter to Franke Rooke Ley, noted: "'Authority' is their one note — their whole tune."[22] The Roman Catholic Church was thus to be the stone building, the clergy and their dogma, and in spite of Cranly's placatory appeal, for Joyce and Tyrrell, the Church at the turn of the century was a reality that was not to be thought away.

The revival of scholasticism during the nineteenth century is a phenomenon that is inseparable from the rise and triumph of Ultramontanism, and the attempt by the Roman hierarchy to withstand the pressures of modern culture. As Daly and Kurtz have demonstrated in their respective studies of the modernist crisis, the re-establishment of a systematic scholastic theology as the bedrock of Catholic orthodoxy facilitated the cultivation of a spirit of medievalism within Catholicism in the period after the Vatican Council of 1870. Leo XIII was elected pontiff in 1878, and presided over the newly centralised and Ultramontanist Church during a period in which James Joyce was born and received his education. With the declaration of the jurisdictional primacy and infallibility of the papacy he was able to re-define Catholic orthodoxy within the narrow boundaries of scholasticism, the paragon of which was the philosophy of Aquinas. Daly writes that "Leo's pontificate lasted a quarter of a century, and it witnessed a large-scale counter-revolution in Roman Catholic patterns of thought."[23] The revival of scholastic thought and the attendant privileging of a thirteenth-century perspective on faith and knowledge, which was constructed

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[21] The Bishops of England and Wales, 'A Joint Pastoral Letter on the Church and Liberal Catholicism', *The Tablet*, 5 January 1901, pp. 8-12; 12 January 1901, pp. 50-52; cited ibid, p. 123.

[22] George Tyrrell to Franke Rooke Ley, 5 January 1901, Maude Petre, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, Vol. II (London, 1912), p. 152; cited ibid, p. 123.

[23] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 18.

and reproduced as an ahistorical and timeless objective reality, provided the magisterium with a philosophical system that was "logical and coherent" (*P* 265) and capable of legitimating the Roman hierarchy's refusal to reconcile itself with "progress, liberalism and modern civilization." Scholasticism was the ideological bedrock of an institution in crisis. A strict adherence to its parameters signified orthodoxy, and any departure from the designated boundaries was thus viewed by the magisterium as a disavowal of the rights and claims of the Ultramontane Roman hierarchy. The creation of such a restrictive discursive environment within Catholicism was to mean that the attempts by the Modernist scholars to realise a new Catholic apologetic which took account of contemporary critical thinking and liberal Protestant theology, were to be perceived by the Roman hierarchy as indistinguishable from external anticlericalist assaults on the Church.

The large-scale counter-revolution in Roman Catholic patterns of thought was prosecuted by the magisterium, and its hegemony was produced and reproduced in the seminaries and recently established Catholic universities in Europe, and in such influential reviews as the Jesuit publication *Civilita cattolica*. Prior to the neo-Thomist revival of the mid-nineteenth century the theology that prevailed in Roman Catholic academic life was, as Daly has noted, characterised by a "philosophical eclecticism which [...] did not appear capable of producing the ringing summons that many Catholics felt to be necessary."[24] The magisterium was conscious of the inadequacies of such eclecticism, and, as is evident in Pius IX's 'Syllabus of Errors', there was great concern over the perceived prevalence of unsound teaching in the Church. The Roman hierarchy

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[24] Ibid, p. 9.

was extremely anxious that its candidates for the priesthood, whom it regarded as the lifeblood and future of the Church, were not contaminated by recent liberal Protestant scholarship and contemporary critical thinking.

As Kurtz has observed, with the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871), the application of scientific criticism in Biblical scholarship, and the phenomenon of 'Life of Jesus' studies, Christianity itself was increasingly unable to function as an authorising grand narrative.[25] Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection refuted the account of creation found in Genesis, and degraded the significance of humanity's relationship with God. In 'Scylla and Charybdis' in *Ulysses*, George Russell, A.E., is inclined to dismiss "Clergymen's discussions of the historicity of Jesus" as a debate that is "purely academic" (*U* 9: 46-48). However, the application of scientific criticism in Biblical studies and theology posed arguably the greatest challenge to Catholicism, and the continued authority of Christianity as a sustaining grand narrative. Subjected to the full rigours of modern positivist historiography the sacred texts of Christianity were traduced as mere historical documents, and therefore the contingent utterances of human culture at specific moments in history. Like all historical documents the Bible was viewed as textually unstable, a fact that seriously complicated and problematised the Church's claim that its authority is derived from the divinely-inspired scriptures and the words of Jesus Christ handed down by the apostles and tradition. If the Bible was to be read as a contingent historical document the Church's insistence on the infallibility of the scriptures was thrown into doubt; and thus every dogma of the Church was similarly called into question. As

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[25] See Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, pp. 22-24.

Kurtz writes, "To suggest error in the scriptures was to imply error in the [Catholic] tradition."[26]

The Church recognised the threat posed by such scholarship, and regarded it as blasphemous and injurious to the faith. Indeed, it had just cause to be alarmed at such developments in Biblical criticism. As Kurtz has noted, "Historical criticism was also used by external anti-clericals, who saw scientific research as a valuable tool in their battle against Catholicism and its legitimating role in the *ancien régime*."[27] The very authority of the Church was under attack. With the publication of David F. Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu kritish bearbeitet* (1835-36) and Ernest Renan's famous *La Vie de Jésus* (1863) the phenomenon of historical Biblical criticism was taken beyond the relative confines of the academies, and by the end of the nineteenth century there was a proliferation of 'Life of Jesus' studies. Renan's *La Vie de Jésus* was arguably the most well-known of such studies, and influenced greatly the magisterium's condemnation of historicist Biblical scholarship. Renan denied the divinity of Christ and "contended that Jesus was no more that the pinnacle of human greatness — and 'that', as George Sand remarked, 'is the end of Jesus for all time.'"[28] It is evident from the letters he wrote to his brother Stanislaus, between December 1904 and December 1906, that Joyce was keenly interested in the 'Life of Jesus' studies by both David F. Strauss and Ernest Renan. Although he was to say of Renan: "I fancy his life of Jesus must be very maudlin stuff," (*Letters II* 72) upon reading *La Vie de Jésus* he wrote, "it is a model of good writing in many

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[26] Ibid, p. 22.

[27] Ibid, p. 7.

[28] Ibid, p. 8. In his library in Trieste Joyce owned two works by Ernest Renan: *The Life of Jesus* (London: Watts, 1913); and *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1883). See Richard Ellmann, 'Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920', *The Consciousness of James Joyce* (London: Faber, 1977), p. 125.

ways: the temper is delightful. The narrative of the death I may perhaps translate for you. He calls John the Baptist the absinthe of the divine feast." (*Letters II* 82) In view of Joyce's own complex relationship with Catholicism, it is interesting to note the sympathy and respect he shows for Renan's anxiety over his apostasy: "Have you ever reflected how 'humble' is the utterance of Renan 'very few people have the right to abandon Catholicism.'" (*Letters II* 155) Furthermore, in *James Joyce and Sexuality* Richard Brown argues that Joyce's contemptuous treatment of the Catholic Church, and his "subjection of its mystical appearances to irreverent enquiry, shows the richness of his debt to nineteenth-century rationalist approaches to the Bible. [...] Renan gave Joyce the freedom to write about Biblical situations in humanistic terms".[29]

In his careful elucidation of his thoughts on the "aesthetic question" with the Dean of Studies in Chapter V of *A Portrait*, Stephen proceeds from "one of two ideas of Aristotle and Aquinas", (*P* 202) the lights of the scholastic system that the Church had designated as the bedrock of Catholic orthodoxy. The Dean of Studies is similarly circumspect and appears to sound-out Stephen for traces of unorthodox and profane thinking. Although he encourages Stephen to expand on his ideas, in his "firm dry tone"(*P* 205) he attempts to contain Stephen's appropriation of Aristotle and Aquinas within the narrow limits of the orthodox discourse that he represents. It is the Dean who initiates the discussion and who attempts to impose closure by insisting on a theory of aesthetics that is morally didactic. Thus, any theory of art which does not define the beautiful as that which is analogous to divine order and consonant with orthodox Catholic definitions of morality, is, necessarily, morally and spiritually dangerous. Whilst

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[29] Richard Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988),

lacking the enthusiastic spark of Ignatius Loyola, the Dean is, for Stephen, dishearteningly Jesuitical in his insistence on obedience to the moral and intellectual precepts of ecclesiastical authority. He argues that such philosophical speculation can only take place within the boundaries established by the magisterium:

> — These questions are very profound, Mr Dedalus, said the dean. It is like looking down from the cliffs of Moher into the depths. Many go down into the depths and never come up. Only the trained diver can go down into these depths and explore them and come to the surface again. (*P* 202)

It is only through a strict adherence to the narrow limits of scholasticism that such intellectual speculation and ultimate enlightenment can take place. Any departure from orthodox prescriptions is thus liable to result in error, and the realisation of an heretical position that is both morally and spiritually dangerous and an affront to the rights and claims of the magisterium. As Kurtz writes, "that which was not within the boundaries of scholastic thought and the doctrine of papal infallibility was not legitimately Catholic. The legitimacy of intellectual enterprises was linked to their approval by the hierarchy."[30]

The broad determination within Catholicism to limit intellectual and theological thinking within the confines of a coherent and holistic discourse was given official sanction in the wake of the declaration of papal infallibility. With the promulgation of *Aeterni patris* in 1879 Leo XIII made the philosophy of

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pp. 129-30.

Aquinas mandatory for the whole Church. The neo-Thomists had argued that Catholicism and modern thought were wholly antithetical, and in aligning Catholicism *tout court* with scholasticism Leo XIII was attempting to affirm and perpetuate a faith of timeless and extrinsic truths that was under attack from the scientific criticism of liberal Protestantism, and the anticlericalist forces in contemporary culture. This ringing summons to return to the work of Aquinas in particular, and scholasticism in general, was initially welcomed by such gifted young Catholic scholars as George Tyrrell who appreciated "the diversity, indeed pluralism of that philosophy."[31] They were enthusiastic about the revitalisation of Catholic thinking, and anticipated the realisation of a new Catholic apologetic that would take account of contemporary critical thinking and make Catholicism a "living and lived religion."[32] However, Tyrrell's unorthodox attempt to historicise the speculative philosophy of Aquinas was to result in his dismissal from his post as Professor of Ethics at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst in 1895, and marked the beginning of his life-long clash with ecclesiastical authority. In *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Sympathetic Alien*, J. Mitchell Morse has noted that the philosophy of Aquinas was first condemned as heretical before being prescribed as the touchstone of orthodoxy, and thus in the hands of men like Tyrrell and Joyce its original radicalness and vitality threatened to displace the moribund and static version authorised by the Roman hierarchy. Morse writes, "the provocative virtue of ideas is never dead,

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[30] Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 41.
[31] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 10.
[32] Ibid, p. 75.

and there is always a danger that when it strikes an active mind the results may be different from what orthodoxy requires."[33]

The slogan of the Catholic University of Louvain, one of the leading centres for the revival of scholasticism, was "St. Thomas must be for us a beacon not a barrier."[34] Although Louvain under Cardinal Mercier cultivated a Thomism that was critical and historically informed, the Thomism that Leo XIII called upon the Church to embrace as a legitimating theologico-philosophical system facilitated the establishment of the strict boundaries within which Catholic theology and philosophy were to be studied and taught in the Roman colleges. Biblical studies and philosophy were subordinate to the hegemony of a dogmatic theology, and the prospect of genuine scholarship being undertaken in the Catholic institutes and colleges was seriously reduced. With the triumph of Ultramontanism the position and influence of the Roman colleges was enhanced, and the pedagogy and cultural assumptions of these institutions contributed to the Italianisation of the Roman Catholic Church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Roman theology "gradually permeated the seminaries of the world, [...] [and] filtered out almost all regional differences."[35] As Daly argues, the climate within the Roman colleges and seminaries in which this "facile scholasticism" was in place was as benighted as it was Ultramontane: "Many of the neo-Thomists were simply inadequate as scholars, intolerant as churchmen, and intemperate as controversialists. They saw things too clearly to see them

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[33] J. Mitchell Morse, *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Sympathetic Alien* (New York: New York University Press, 1959), p. 90.
[34] R. Aubert, 'Aspects divers du néo-thomisme sous le pontificate de Leon XIII,' *Aspetti della cultura cattolica nell'eta di Leon XIII* (Rome, 1961), p. 185; cited Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 11.
[35] Ibid, p. 12.

well, as Blondel remarked."[36] The magisterium thus created a highly Ultramontane discursive environment within Catholicism that could not brook any departure from the narrow scholasticism it had established as the touchstone of orthodoxy.

III: 'Furia Irlandaise': George Tyrrell and the Modernist Crisis: A Context for Joyce's Negotiations with Contemporary Catholicism.

George Tyrrell, Ex-S.J.[37]

The Reverend Stephen Dedalus, S.J. (*P* 174)

The Modernist controversy within Roman Catholicism is widely regarded to have begun in earnest in 1902 with the publication of Alfred Loisy's *L'Évangile et L'Église*, and to have come to an end with the completion of the Roman condemnation of Modernism in 1910.[38] Daly describes the Roman hierarchy's campaign against Modernism as one that was conducted with a zeal comparable to that of the communist witch-hunts of "Senator Joseph McCarthy in the United States of America during the late 1940s and early 1950s."[39] A narrow scholasticism was in place, and the Ultramontane Roman hierarchy, through the successor to the Inquisition, the Holy Office, attempted to silence all internal disquiet and dissent. It was a stifling intellectual environment, and the

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[36] M. Blondel, 'Lettre sur les exigences de la pensée contemporaine', *Les Premiers écrits de Maurice Blondel*, Vol. II (Paris, 1956), p. 9; cited ibid, p. 19.

[37] Tyrrell signed himself thus in a letter to Henri Bremond in the days after his dismissal from the Society of Jesus. George Tyrrell to Henri Bremond, undated, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Bremond; cited Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 203.

[38] See Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, pp. 5-6.

Modernist scholar George Tyrrell, like Stephen Daedalus in *Stephen Hero*, regarded his publications as potentially explosive discourses. In a letter to the Anglican priest Alfred Lilley, a fellow Irishman and a commentator on Modernist scholarship, that was written a month before Pius X issued the encyclical *Pascendi*, Tyrrell speculates on the discursive impact of the publication of his forthcoming collection of essays, *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or the Old Theology and the New*:

> This book will cause much squealing on all sides. It was my last kick & a vicious one. I see Drimnet is Indexed. This is too bad! am I insignificant? "Hast Thou not reserved a malediction for me, even me O Holy Father? Is thy servant a dopehead?" I wrote to Massingham about a review of "What we Want." But the great man is silent. Perhaps he is waiting for the book which has not quite appeared. Sabatier has blazed in the *Times* on "Four Years of Pius X" — rather flabby. And it is time we had done with the humility and saintliness of this domineering, tyrannical, unjust, uncharitable & vindictive old man [...] I am awfully tempted to write a frontal attack on the Syllabus for the *Giornali d'Italia* & put myself out of pain. But the Baron holds me back.[40]

The Roman Inquisition may have long ceased to burn its obdurate and unrepentant heretics at the stake, but through the Holy Office, and the re-established Sacred Congregation of the Index, every effort was made to silence

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[39] Ibid, p. 218.

the dissent of the "deviant insiders," and excommunicate those who persisted in their erroneous apostleships of protest. Tyrrell's determination to maintain his intellectual liberty resulted in his dismissal from the Society of Jesus in February 1906, and after the promulgation of *Pascendi* in September 1907 he finally put himself out of pain by writing two blistering attacks on the encyclical in *The Times*, and was informed on 23 October 1907 that he was to be deprived of the sacraments. In these articles he argued forcefully against the ideological identification of Catholicism *tout court* with scholasticism. Tyrrell argued: "When the encyclical tries to show the modernist that he is no Catholic it mostly succeeds only in showing that he is no scholastic — which he knew."[41]

A discussion of the tempestuous career of George Tyrrell as a context for Joyce's profane struggle with the Church's hegemony may appear arbitrary and contrived.[42] Tyrrell and Joyce seem an incongruous, if not wholly antithetical pair, and it should be stated that there is no evidence in Joyce's letters or novels to suggest that he was aware of the Modernist crisis, or even the existence of his fellow Dubliner. Tyrrell was born in 1861 into a family that was a member of the dominant social class in Ireland, the Protestant ascendancy. His grandfather had come to Ireland shortly before the Act of Union, from Oxfordshire, and his family was easily assimilated into the ascendancy class. In his biography of Tyrrell, *'On God's Side': A Life of George Tyrrell*, Nicholas Sagovsky writes:

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[40] George Tyrrell to Alfred Lilley, 11 August 1907, Lilley Family Papers, St. Andrews University Library, 30824.

[41] *The Times*, 30 September, 1 October, 1907; cited Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 224.

[42] It should be noted that an excerpt from Tyrrell's autobiography, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell* Vol. I (London: Arnold, 1912), arranged posthumously for publication by Maud Petre, is included in the 'Autobiography and Memoirs 1890-1988' section of *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, Vol. III, ed. Seamus Deane (Derry: Field Day Publications, 1994), pp. 407-11.

> Two of his sons were clergymen, and George's father [William Tyrrell] became an overworked journalist, sub-editor of the *Dublin Evening Mail*, then a well-known organ of Protestant Toryism, and Irish correspondent for *The Times*. In the next generation, cousins rose to prominence in the law, the army, the diplomatic service, and the academic world. The name Tyrrell became one of the most outstanding at Trinity College, the Protestant university which dominated the intellectual life of Dublin. Here, Professor Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, George's first cousin, gained a chair in Latin at the age of 25.[43]

For Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait* "The grey block of Trinity" is a powerful and oppressive symbol of the Protestant ascendancy, and in walking past the university he strives to "free his feet from the fetters of the reformed conscience." (*P* 194) Tyrrell and Joyce's perceptions of the religious faiths of their respective social backgrounds are mutually exclusive, and as Joyce associates Protestantism with the apparatuses of the imperial British state in Ireland, so Tyrrell was brought up to feel that Roman Catholicism was "the religion of the Helots, and of vulgar and uneducated classes in Ireland."[44] For Tyrrell, Roman Catholicism was seen through the sectarian screen of Protestant propaganda as "Popery": "so preposterous a religion".[45] While Joyce rebelled against his Jesuit teachers, repudiated the Catholicism of his upbringing, and lived all his adult life beyond the writ of the British empire, Tyrrell converted to

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[43] Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 2.
[44] Maud Petre, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, Vol. I (London: Arnold 1912), p. 34; cited ibid., p. 1.

Catholicism, became a Jesuit, and lived out his fiery vocation in England. Despite his violent clashes with the Society of Jesus and the Roman hierarchy, Tyrrell died firm in the conviction that he had struggled to make Catholicism a possibility for contemporary culture.

Nevertheless, there is much to be gleaned from a sustained discussion of the contrasting yet exemplary nature of Tyrrell's and Joyce's struggle with Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Both men were unable to realise philosophical certitude in a faith that was presented as "logical and coherent", and this determination to pass beyond the narrow scholasticism of contemporary Catholicism in a quest for that certitude, brought them into conflict with an Ultramontane Church that was quick to condemn any departure from its stultified theologico-philosophical system as heretical. As Daly notes:

> Integralist orthodoxy would be proclaimed on all fronts, political, theological, philosophical, and disciplinary. There would be no discussion, no argument, no compromise. 'Error has no rights' was an accepted maxim in the scholastic jurisprudence of the age, and the maxim was shortly to be put into grim practice.[46]

Tyrrell and Joyce were equally trenchant in their struggle with the Church, and were adamant in their belief in the absolute need for intellectual liberty. They disparaged the attempts by ecclesiastical authority to silence such intellectual freedom, and Joyce's fictional account of Stephen Daedalus's clash with the College censor over his paper in *Stephen Hero* can be viewed as a microcosmic

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[45] Petre, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*; cited in *The Field Day Anthology of Irish*

indication of the discursive environment that prevailed within Catholicism during this time. Prior to his dismissal from the Society of Jesus, the removal of his *celebret*, and his ultimate excommunication, Tyrrell struggled for almost a decade with ecclesiastical authority over both his signed and anonymous publications. They were both engaged in a discursive struggle with a stifling orthodoxy, and became increasingly contemptuous of the Ultramontane Roman hierarchy, and the authoritarian nature of the Society of Jesus. Thus, a consideration of the Modernist crisis, and the "furia irlandaise" that Tyrrell evinced in his refusal to submit to his superiors, does reveal the intensity of the discursive debates within Catholicism, and provides a context in which to appraise the nature of Joyce's engagement with the intellectual structures of the Church.

In his essay 'Defining Modernism: A Religious and Literary Correlation', Lawrence Gamache suggests that "a knowledge of religious modernism does make clearer and more vividly real the intensity and nature of the human conflict the growth of modernism in our culture represents."[47] Although Modernist scholars such as Tyrrell and Loisy, and their writings, are relatively unknown in comparison to the better known lives and works of T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, Joyce and D. H. Lawrence, Gamache argues that both religious and literary modernists were extremely conscious of a crisis within modern culture, and attempted to "find a new way to discover a sustaining vision of the natural, human and cosmic order; both kinds of writers shared a sense of crisis as humans trying to discover or, rather, to realize some qualitative meaning in the fact of

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Writing, p. 407.

[46] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, pp. 190-91.

[47] Lawrence Gamache, 'Defining Modernism: A Religious and Literary Correlation', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 25:2 (Fall 1992), p. 78.

being, their own and the world's as they experienced it, not as they were told to understand it."[48] He also suggests that the "careers of both Tyrrell and Loisy echo the mind and world of a Stephen Dedalus or a Paul Morel",[49] and that Loisy's recollection of the inner-turmoil he experienced as a young seminarian could be used, *mutatis mutandis*, to describe the spiritual unease of the adolescent Joyce:

> Just in the degree to which certain objects of faith had impressed me when employed as sources of religious emotion, to that degree their Scholastic exposition in terms of naked intellect filled my mind with an ill-defined disquiet. Now that I was required to think all these things rationally, and not merely to feel them, I was thrown into a state of prolonged disturbance. For my intelligence could find no satisfaction, and with my whole timid, immature consciousness I trembled before the query that oppressed, in spite of myself, every hour of the day: Is there any reality which corresponds to these doctrines?[50]

Unlike Loisy and Joyce, Tyrrell was a convert to Catholicism. Although he was received into the Church in 1879 in London, some thirty years after the high-profile conversions of Cardinal Newman and other members of the Oxford Movement, his tempestuous career in the Church demonstrates that he was not of the same ilk as the Dean of Studies in *A Portrait*: "A humble follower in the

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[48] Ibid, p. 65.
[49] Ibid, p. 78.
[50] Alfred Loisy, *My Duel with the Vatican*, trans. Richard Wilson Boynton (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1968), p. 71; cited ibid, p. 70.

wake of clamorous conversions [...] a late comer, a tardy spirit." (*P* 204) Both Sagovsky and Gamache discuss Tyrrell's conversion and his becoming a Jesuit as the dramatic manifestation of his personal "spiritual odyssey,"[51] a restless quest for certitude which was to lead him into conflict with the Ultramontane nature of contemporary ecclesiastical authority. As Daly notes Tyrrell was to become an "intellectual buccaneer, [who] did not believe in ports for storms."[52]

In common with the ascendancy class in Ireland, Tyrrell was a member of the Episcopalian Church of Ireland (disestablished in 1869), but he found its Low Church theology ultimately insubstantial and incapable of satisfying his search for belief. During his formative years he was greatly influenced by his older brother Willie, an agnostic, and Tyrrell later claimed that he "became an unbeliever at about the age of ten."[53] Whilst Joyce found the Catholicism of his education and upbringing ultimately hollow-sounding and sought a reality beyond that delineated by traditional religion and culture, Tyrrell's quest for existential certitude led him to Catholicism. This movement began when he discovered Grangegorman, a High Anglican Church in Dublin, and the experience of the 'high' doctrine of the Church and of the Eucharist practised by the Tractarian vicar Dr. Maturin left a deep impression on him. Tyrrell began to secretly attend the Jesuit church in Gardiner Street, Dublin, and began to consider a vocation with the Society of Jesus. He moved to London on April Fool's Day 1879, and having obtained an introduction to the English Jesuits at Farm Street, where he would later work, he soon made his confession and

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[51] Ellen Leonard, C.S.J., *George Tyrrell and the Catholic Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1982), p. 11; cited ibid, p. 74.

[52] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 140.

[53] Maud Petre, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, Vol. II, (London, 1912), p. 98; cited Gamache, 'Defining Modernism', p. 73.

became a Catholic. In September 1880 he arrived at Roehampton to begin his noviciate.

As Gamache argues, Tyrrell's restless search for a "sustaining vision of the natural, human and cosmic order" amidst the climate of incertitude in contemporary culture was an exigence that was also experienced by the practitioners of literary modernism. He perceived in Roman Catholicism an holistic theologico-philosophical system and a rich and diverse tradition that was capable of providing such a sustaining grand narrative. Like Eliot, in his famous essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', Tyrrell wished to escape from the individualism of modernity and realise existential certitude in the living cultural traditions of the West. In a letter to Robert Dell in June 1907, a few months before Pius X issued his condemnation of Modernism, Tyrrell writes: "One joined the Church to be delivered from the tyranny of individualism, and live under the rule of a wide and quasi-Catholic consensus, in which the vagaries of individualism are eliminated and the true developments of mind-in-general made manifest."[54] However, his determination to make Catholicism a "living and lived religion" by returning to the sources of the Catholic tradition was to bring him into conflict with his Jesuit superiors and the Roman hierarchy.

During the course of his tempestuous vocation Tyrrell evinced none of the narrow obedience and spiritual enervation that Stephen Dedalus detects in the Dean of Studies in *A Portrait*. Prior to his conversion he had read a "fervent little book"[55] on the Society of Jesus called *Jésuites!*, and was greatly inspired by Ignatius Loyola and the innovative mission of the order he founded. Tyrrell was consumed with the "spark of Ignatius' enthusiasm", and his soul was fired with

"the energy of apostleship." (*P* 201) However, such spiritual restlessness was at odds with the presiding intellectual climate within the Society and the Church. Tyrrell soon grew contemptuous of the triumphalism he detected within Catholicism, and was disdainful of its reliance on a static and ahistorical scholasticism. He recognised that such a reliance on a timeless and dogmatic theologico-philosophical system would no longer serve as an adequate rational justification of the Catholic faith in the post-Enlightenment period, and argued for a new Catholic apologetic that mediated between the subjectivism and immanentism of liberal Protestantism and the transcendentalism of scholasticism. As Sagovsky argues, when confronted with the overly-fixed and static nature of contemporary Catholic theology, Tyrrell asked "Where was the sovereign freedom and fearlessness of Christ, the sanctified restlessness of saints like Ignatius, the imaginative and intellectual boldness of Aquinas."[56]

As I have already noted, Tyrrell initially welcomed the encyclical *Aeterni patris* that made the philosophy of Aquinas mandatory for the whole Church. He anticipated the subsequent revitalisation of the Church's thinking, and an enlightened realisation of a Catholic apologetic that had thought through the scientific and philosophical advances of modernity. After beginning his noviciate at Roehampton he was moved to St. Mary's Hall at Stonyhurst College in 1882 to study scholastic philosophy; he studied "logic, ontology, mathematics, physics, psychology and natural theology, delighting in the speculative philosophy of Aquinas, loathing the way his thought had been coarsened and

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[54] *George Tyrrell's Letters*, ed. Maud Petre (London, 1920), pp. 105-106; cited Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 213.
[55] Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 13.
[56] Ibid, p. 46.

materialized by later generations."[57] Although Tyrrell would come to reject the static and ahistorical nature of the neo-Thomism prevalent in Catholicism at the time, the exposure to the speculative philosophy of Aquinas was to have an immediate and lasting effect on him. As Sagovsky notes, "Traditionally, the Jesuits had taught Aquinas as interpreted by Suarez and other approved commentators, but Tyrrell now passed under the influence of a man [Thomas Rigby, Professor of Logic] who rejected all that, and taught 'Aquinas, his own interpreter'."[58] Under the unorthodox tutelage of Rigby he was to appreciate the sweep, perspicacity, and insight of Aquinas's thought. In encouraging Tyrrell to depart from the authorised commentators Rigby contributed to his growing preoccupation with "the concerns of the saints rather than of the Curia",[59] a preoccupation that was to elicit the censure of ecclesiastical authority. His encounter with Aquinas, the paragon of the Church's theologico-philosophical system, was to result in the occupation of an heterodox position from which his Modernist theology developed. Gamache writes, "It is ironic that his condemnation was, in part, for not acquiescing to the authority of neo-scholasticism in the teaching of Church doctrine."[60]

Tyrrell's first clash with ecclesiastical authority occurred in 1895, a mere year after he was appointed to the chair of Ethics at St. Mary's Hall. He had become increasingly disillusioned with the role of the Society in the establishment and reproduction of a narrow scholasticism as the touchstone of orthodoxy within Catholicism. The Jesuits differed from other religious orders in taking four vows, one more than is customary; in addition to taking vows of

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[57] Ibid, p. 30.
[58] Ibid, p. 28.
[59] Ibid, p. 41.
[60] Gamache, 'Defining Modernism', p. 74.

poverty, chastity and obedience, members of the Society made a 'final profession' which included a vow of obedience to the pope.[61] The Jesuits enjoyed a privileged position in the Roman hierarchy; they were the greatest intellectual order of the Church and were the order primarily involved in prosecuting the teachings of the magisterium.[62] The Thomist Louis Billot, S.J., had been brought to Rome in 1888 at the specific behest of Leo XIII to lecture at the Gregorian University to give intellectual weight to the revival of scholastic thought. In *Transcendence and Immanence* Daly discusses the importance of Billot in prosecuting the magisterium's attempt to re-establish the scholastic theologico-philosophical system as the basis of Catholic orthodoxy:

> At the time of the modernist crisis Billot was the leading exponent of a theological perspective which saw revelation as assertion, faith as intellectual assent, and theology as a mainly deductive procedure.
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> [...]
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> Billot assumed without question the hegemony of dogmatic theology over historical studies and philosophy. The dogmatic theologian, as Billot saw it, told the apologist not only what he had to find and demonstrate but also *how* he was to do so. Billot was an implacable foe to any argument based on man's appetitive or affective side. Reason and will are the only faculties directly involved in the act of faith and in the steps preparatory to it. These preparatory steps constitute the matters of apologetics or

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[61] See Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 19.

> fundamental theology. Credibility, he stated quite bluntly, is the *extrinsic* condition which precedes the act of faith.[63]

The Jesuits of the Roman journal *Civilita cattolica* were also active in reproducing Leo XIII's call for the Church to go "Back to Thomas."[64] It was in this journal that the Italian Jesuit Guido Mattiussi published his diatribes against Modernism and the Kantian poison that he perceived at the heart of Modernist thinking. Daly argues that the tenor of Mattiussi's writings was paradigmatic of much of the anti-Modernist campaign. Mattiussi expanded his articles on Kant, Alfred Loisy and Adolf von Harnack, and in January 1907 he published *Il veleno kantino* (the Kantian poison), which Daly characterises as "Shrill in denunciation, arrogant in its assumed monopoly of truth and orthodoxy, and moralistic in its summons to the 'neo-critics' to return to scholastic sanity".[65]

By this time Tyrrell was resigned to his dismissal from the Society, but he had long been contemptuous of its role in maintaining the hegemony of the Roman hierarchy, and in traducing the speculative philosophy of Aquinas as a static and narrow scholasticism and "an ever victorious weapon in the fight against error".[66] He valued Aquinas dearly, but he held neo-Thomism in disdain. Like Loisy, Tyrrell's intelligence could find no satisfaction in the scholastic exposition of faith. At St. Mary's Hall Tyrrell argued that Aquinas should not be

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[62] See Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 16.

[63] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, pp. 15-16.

[64] It is extremely salutary to note that *Civilita cattolica* was "an important vehicle" of anti-semitic propaganda which vilified the "Jews as a 'sinful people' conspiring against the Christian world in collusion with both the Freemasons and the forces of socialism" during the late nineteenth-century, and "its views often conformed to those of the Holy See." See Neil R. Davidson, *James Joyce, 'Ulysses', and the Construction of Jewish Identity: Culture, Biography, and the Jew in Modernist Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 18.

[65] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 167.

[66] Editorial, *The Tablet*, NS 22 (23 August 1879), p. 238; cited Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 45.

studied as an oracle of philosophical and theological certitude; it was a thesis that was a flagrant disavowal of the teachings of the magisterium. He attempted to historicise the speculative philosophy of Aquinas and thus demonstrate the restlessness and innovation implicit in that thinking. Tyrrell believed that it was the *method* of Aquinas that was instructive for contemporary theologians, and argued against the construction of scholasticism favoured by the magisterium. Scholasticism should not be regarded as synonymous with Catholicism, but rather as an historically specific attempt to think about religious faith. As Kurtz notes, "In Thomas's work Tyrrell found hope for uniting the causes of liberty and authority."[67] Tyrrell believed that Aquinas's writings represented "a far less developed theology than that of the later Schoolmen [...] I would study Aquinas as I would study Dante, in order that knowing the mind of another age we might know the mind of our own more intelligently."[68] He could recommend studying Aquinas as a classic of European literature, but he could not assent inwardly to its teaching. Such unorthodox teaching inevitably incurred the censure of his superiors and, at the behest of the Provincial of the English Jesuits, Tyrrell was removed from his teaching post. This event began to earn him the reputation of being a dangerous and intemperate man, but it also signified his discursive intervention in the intellectual life of contemporary Catholicism. As Daly notes "For Tyrrell theology was life and life was theology."[69] Tyrrell was moved from Stonyhurst to Farm Street in London to work as a writer on the journal of the English Jesuits, *The Month*, and it was from this journal that he began to launch the first of his explosives and become a key protagonist in a decade-long struggle

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[67] Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 73.
[68] Maud Petre, *Autobiography of George Tyrrell*, Vol. II, p. 45; cited Gamache, 'Defining Modernism', p. 74.
[69] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, pp. 140-41.

for orthodoxy that would result in the condemnation of Modernism by Pius X in September 1907, and his own excommunication.

At Stonyhurst Tyrrell had encountered the "cloistral silverveined prose of Newman" (*P* 190), and his reading of the *Grammar of Assent* provided him with both sanction and inspiration for his criticism of the limitations of scholasticism, and his determination to forge an apologetic suited to the demands and pressures of contemporary culture. As Gamache argues, "From Newman, Tyrrell adopted the conception of Christianity as developmental, that is, that the teachings of the Church in any age are the articulation of Christ's revelation for that age — that the Church itself evolved and is evolving continuously."[70] Such an analysis contradicted the Church's own image of itself as a seamless robe, and seriously questioned the efficacy of the magisterium's employment of a thirteenth-century perspective of knowledge and faith to maintain the hegemony of the Church in modern culture. Throughout his struggle with ecclesiastical authority Tyrrell remained convinced in his Catholicism, but grew increasingly disdainful of the authoritarian temper of the Roman hierarchy and the inadequacies of a prescriptive scholasticism. An attack on the scholastic theologico-philosophical system was also an attack on the Ultramontanism of the Roman hierarchy.

Sagovsky describes Tyrrell as "the cleverest, the busiest, and, it was said, the ugliest of the London Jesuits."[71] The experience of living in metropolitan London accentuated his perception of the difficulties of maintaining the possibility of religious faith amidst the pressures of modernity, and his conviction that a Catholic apologetic based solely on scholastic rationalism was simply inadequate. In 1901 he described contemporary Roman Catholic

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[70] Gamache, 'Defining Modernism', pp. 74-75.

theology as standing "in the world of present-day thought like a well-preserved ruin in the midst of London — the dead in the midst of the living."[72] His belief that scholasticism "belongs to the dead"[73] is often repeated in his letters and writings. Tyrrell's active participation in devotional work as either a leader of retreats or as a confessor, and his development of a theology that was as concerned with "the need for God in the human soul"[74] as it was with the elucidation of a transcendental reality, signifies his attempt to make Catholicism a "living and lived religion" for men and women in contemporary culture.

The temper of the articles that Tyrrell was contributing to *The Month* was relatively subdued in comparison with the righteous indignation he evinced at the height of the Modernist crisis. For example, in a letter to Alfred Lilley in October 1907, Tyrrell declares, "The Pope calls me an anti-Pope; & the Holy Office is to sit on me. Poor gentlemen it does not matter much what they sit on in the evil modern days."[75] However, in such articles as 'Liberal Catholicism' of 1898 Tyrrell was beginning to argue that the Church should come to an uneasy accommodation with contemporary culture: "The Church may neither identify herself with "progress" nor isolate herself from it. Her attitude must always be the difficult and uncomfortable one of partial agreement and partial assent."[76] As Sagovsky notes, Tyrrell was on "perilous ground"[77] in articulating an argument that contradicted Pius IX's affirmation in the 'Syllabus of Errors' that it was

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[71] Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 65.
[72] 'Rome's Opportunity', Clutton Papers, Oxford, p. 17; cited ibid, p. 143.
[73] George Tyrrell to Alfred Lilley, 27 May 1904, Lilley Family Papers, St. Andrews University Library, 30780.
[74] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 1.
[75] George Tyrrell to Alfred Lilley, 3 October 1907, Lilley Family Papers, St. Andrews University Library, 30833.
[76] 'Liberal Catholicism', *The Month*, 90 (1898), pp. 449-57; cited in Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 59.
[77] Ibid, p. 59.

inconceivable that the Roman Pontiff should attempt such a reconciliation with the forces of modernity. His challenge to Catholic orthodoxy did not go unnoticed by his superiors. However, his articles and particularly his collection of devotional writings *Nova et Vetera: Informal Meditations for Times of Spiritual Dryness* brought him to the attention of a man who was to have a profound influence on his intellectual development, Baron Friedrich von Hügel.

Von Hügel was a devout but unorthodox Catholic. The son of a diplomat and a baron of the Holy Roman Empire, von Hügel was raised on German scholarship, and was already a respected Biblical scholar by the time he first wrote to Tyrrell in 1879. In *The Politics of Heresy* Kurtz discusses extensively his importance as a behind-the-scenes director of the emerging Modernist movement. Von Hügel was in correspondence with all the leading protagonists of the movement; he introduced them to one another, in some cases provided financial support, and worked tirelessly to ensure that new books and articles by Loisy and Tyrrell were reviewed. As Maude Petre noted, he brought "a German thoroughness of plan"[78] to his endeavours, and was largely responsible for transforming a number of isolated and disaffected Catholic intellectuals and scholars into a diverse and loosely defined movement. Von Hügel hoped that "Loisy's exegesis, Blondel's apologetics, and Tyrrell's religious pragmatism might be absorbed into the church's life, in much the same way as Newman's doctrine of development had been incorporated."[79] In so doing he facilitated the development of an emergent discursive network of scholars within Catholicism which challenged the triumph of Ultramontanism in the Church, the re-

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[78] Maude Petre, *Alfred Loisy: His Religious Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944); cited Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 110.

[79] Michele Ranchetti, *The Catholic Modernists: A Study of the Religious Reform Movement, 1864-1907*, trans. Isabel Quigly (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 56; cited ibid, p. 70.

establishment of scholasticism as the touchstone of orthodoxy, and the cultivation of a climate of medievalism. This unorthodox appraisal or disavowal of the theologico-philosophical system endorsed by the magisterium was an implicit critique of the authoritarian temper of contemporary Catholicism.

As Sagovsky has argued, from the 1890s onwards Tyrrell became the leading and most controversial intellectual figure in English Catholic life. During this period his critical output was nothing less than prolific; his "mind, and his pen, worked at white heat"[80] for over a decade. Between the publication of *Nova et Vetera* in 1879 and his death as an excommunicate Modernist in 1909, he published no less than eighteen books, the most significant of which were *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or the Old Theology and the New* (1907) and *Christianity at the Crossroads* (1909). These books were written at the height of the anti-Modernist campaign which had begun in earnest with the election of the 'peasant pope' Pius X in 1903. Tyrrell's prolific output, and his tireless appraisal of the condition of contemporary Catholic theology, inevitably attracted the attention and censure of the vigilant Congregation of the Holy Office, and from 1900 onwards the Roman hierarchy employed every institutional mechanism available to the Church to destroy his career, and silence his heretical discourse. Alfred Loisy and Henri Bremond, fellow scholar-priests, were also subjected to similar conditions of constraint. Tyrrell's freedom to publish uncensored articles and books was denied; he was moved from London to Richmond in Yorkshire; his license to lead retreats was suspended; his *celebret* was removed; he was dismissed from the Society of Jesus; condemned as a Modernist; and excommunicated at the behest of Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary of State and

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[80] Sagovsky, *'On God's Side'*, p. 46.

former consultor to the *Index*. It is curious to note that, unlike Loisy and Laberthonniere, Tyrrell's writings were not placed on the *Index*.

The discursive environment within Catholicism had become more embittered during the pontificate of Pius X, or "Pius the Pious",[81] as Tyrrell notes sarcastically of the Holy Father in a letter to Alfred Lilley in May 1904. To the dismay of the ever-cautious von Hügel, Tyrrell responded with subversive "bomb throwing",[82] and published anonymously or under the name of 'Dr Ernest Engels'. He attacked the philistinism and spiritual inauthenticity of the magisterium's traduction of Catholicism *tout court* as scholasticism, and argued for a radical transformation of the Church. By 1907 the intellectual narrowness of the neo-scholastic revival drove Tyrrell to occupy a discursive position that was increasingly beyond the pale of orthodox Catholicism, and in a letter to Lilley, written a month before the promulgation of *Pascendi dominici gregis*, he declared:

> We are suffering to-day the scandal caused by the "edifying" submissions of the past. I am more certain of some of the unsound propositions than I am of the philosophical, scientific & historical presuppositions of Catholic claims. I am not infallible & may be wrong.[83]

The passing of *Pascendi* in September 1907 was a notable instance of discursive violence, and effectively silenced the Modernist movement. Although Tyrrell

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[81] George Tyrrell to Alfred Lilley, 20 May 1904, Lilley Family Papers, St. Andrews University Library, 30779.
[82] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 210.

intended *Scylla and Charybdis* to be one "last kick" against the Ultramontane Roman hierarchy, his death on 14 July 1909 signified the passing of Roman Catholic Modernism as an emergent discourse within Catholicism. By 1910 the Roman hierarchy's condemnation of Modernism was largely completed. Much of the Modernist scholarship had been placed on the *Index*; Tyrrell had died, and many of the Modernists were either excommunicated or had cautiously retreated, fearful of further censure; all clerics taking Major Orders were required to swear an anti-Modernist oath, and anti-Modernism became a species of ecclesiastical patriotism within Catholicism; and "a chilling parody of a secret service", Mgr. Umberto Besigni's *Sodalitum Pianum*, "set about ferreting out 'modernists' throughout the Church."[84] Although much of the violence of the Roman hierarchy's anti-Modernist campaign was brought to an end by Benedict XV, Pius X's successor, the alliance of Catholicism *tout court* with a narrow scholasticism was complete, and remained largely in place until the Second Vatican Council of the early 1960s.

V: Conclusion.

> In conclusion I spit upon the image of the tenth Pius. Faithfully yours
>
> JAS. A JOYCE (*SL* 49)

As I argued in the introduction to this chapter, there can be no substantive appraisal of the nature of Joyce's engagement with Catholicism in *Stephen Hero*,

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[83] George Tyrrell to Alfed Lilley, 11 August 1907, Lilley Family Papers, St. Andrews University.

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, and *Ulysses*, without an understanding of the extent and temper of the Roman Catholic Church's hegemony in Ireland at the turn-of-the-century. As Brown argues in *James Joyce: A Post-Culturalist Perspective*, there can be no sense of "Joyce's radicalism, his 'offensiveness'"[85] without an understanding of the social formation of which he was a part, and the discourses of power that circulated therein. Although I will discuss the powerful yet anomalous position of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland at this time in greater detail in the course of this thesis, in this chapter I have attempted to give an account of the intellectual climate within Catholicism during the period in which Joyce was born, educated, grew to maturity and embarked on his writing career. The considerable space devoted in this chapter to a sustained discussion of the Ultramontanism of ecclesiastical authority, the neo-scholastic revival, and the emergence of Roman Catholic Modernist theology, as a context for an examination of Joyce's own complex relationship with Catholicism, arguably begs the question, 'how thick the description?' As I have argued, the absence of an historicist reading of Joyce's engagement with the discursive practices of Catholicism necessitates the thickness of the description in this thesis. Furthermore, the very complexity of Joyce's engagement with Catholicism in novels as textured and densely allusive as *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* requires such thick description if the subversiveness is to be realised fully. Brown writes: "To subsequent generations of more secular or non-Catholic readers, Joyce may seem so deeply immersed in his Catholicism that his anger and apostasy might be ignored."[86] In appraising the hegemonic significance of the revival of

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Library, 30824.

[84] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 218.

[85] Brown, *James Joyce: A Post-Culturalist Perspective*, p. xix.

[86] Ibid, p. xix.

scholasticism, and the tragic career of George Tyrrell, I have attempted to suggest a context in which Joyce's "anger and apostasy" may become more apparent for those readers, secular, non-Catholic, and indeed Catholic, with no memory or knowledge of the nature of Catholicism before the Second Vatican Council of the early 1960s.

Chapter Two:

'The heresiarch martyr of Nola': James Joyce's Encounter with Giordano Bruno.

Bruno, Giordano. *Opera omnia. Decr. S. Offi. 8. Febr. 1600.*

Index Librorum Prohibitorum.[1]

> Extravagance followed. The simple history of the Poverello was soon out of mind and he established himself in the maddest of companies. Joachim Abbas, Bruno the Nolan, Michael Sendivogius, all the hierarchs of initiation cast their spells upon him.
>
> James Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist.'[2]

I: Introduction

In *Damned to Fame*, his excellent biography of Samuel Beckett, James Knowlson gives an account of the relationship that developed between Beckett and Joyce shortly after the twenty-two year old Beckett arrived in Paris to take up a position as lecturer in English at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in the autumn of 1928. Knowlson suggests that it was only during his last months at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1927, and in his following year of postgraduate study in Dublin, and Belfast, that Beckett had his crucial encounter with Joyce's writing. However, by the time Beckett was introduced to the Joyce household by Thomas MacGreevy, he possessed an "intense admiration for *Dubliners*, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses* and some of his [Joyce's] poems."[3]

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[1] *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Vatican: Polyglottus, 1940), p. 66.
[2] James Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist', in *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, eds. Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 63.
[3] James Knowlson, *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997. First published in 1996), p. 97.

Knowlson notes that besides both men's exceptional linguistic abilities, their passionate love of Dante, and their adoration of the "sounds, rhythms, shapes, etymologies and histories of words," Beckett and Joyce, the agnostic Irish Protestant and the apostate Irish Catholic, "shared a fervent anticlericalism and a scepticism in all matters to do with religion, although their mutual preoccupation with religious inquiry still ran very deep and their knowledge of the scriptures was almost word perfect."[4] Soon after their first meeting Beckett agreed to help Joyce by undertaking some research for him for *Finnegans Wake*, then evolving under the title of *Work in Progress*. Just over a month after their introduction, at Joyce's behest and instruction, Beckett began work on an essay on *Work in Progress*, 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce', that was to appear in the first apologia for the *Wake*, *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*, published in Paris in May 1929. In an interview with Knowlson in September 1989, Beckett said that Joyce had asked him to write on *Work in Progress* because of his knowledge of Italian, and he subsequently spent a considerable amount of time reading the works of Giordano Bruno and Giambattista Vico in the Bibliothèque of the Ecole Normale. Although Joyce liked the essay, Beckett recalled that "his only comment on it was that there wasn't enough about Bruno; he found Bruno rather neglected."[5]

To a large extent Joyce's comment on 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce' is justified and instructive. Beckett's treatment of the significance of Bruno's notion of the coincidence of contraries in the *Wake* is a relatively cursory one when compared to his more expansive discussions of the importance of Vico's theory of the "inevitability of cyclic evolution," and Dante's "system of Poetics"

[4] Ibid, p. 98.
[5] Ibid, p. 100.

in Joyce's composition of the *Wake*.[6] He notes that Joyce's covert reference to Giordano Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement*, the pamphlet of 1901 in which Joyce refers cryptically to "the Nolan", threw the "the local philosophers [...] into a state of some bewilderment"; and he observes that Bruno "appears frequently [in the *Wake*] as "Browne and Nolan" the name of a very remarkable Dublin Bookseller and Stationer."[7] Beckett's elaboration of Bruno's principle of identified contraries is extremely concise, and is limited to half a page:

> There is no difference, says Bruno, between the smallest possible chord and the smallest possible arc, no difference between the infinite circle and straight line. The maxima and minima of particularities are one and indifferent. Minimal heat equals minimal cold. Consequently transmutations are circular. The principle (minimum) of one contrary takes its movement from the principle (maximum) of another. Therefore not only do the minima coincide with the minima, the maxima with the maxima, but the maxima in the succession of transmutations. Maximal speed is a state of rest. The maximum of corruption is generation. And all things are ultimately identified with God, the universal monad, Monad of monads.[8]

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[6] Samuel Beckett, 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce', *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*, Samuel Beckett et al (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 3. The observation that Beckett's appraisal of Bruno in this essay is a relatively concise one, and disproportionately small in comparison with his more extensive treatments of Dante and Vico, has also been made by John Pilling. See John Pilling *Beckett before Godot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 17.

[7] Ibid, p. 17.

[8] Ibid, p. 6.

While Beckett's elaboration of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries is impressively concise, I would suggest that is in fact largely cribbed from J. Lewis McIntyre's 1903 study of Bruno, and not from a first-hand study of the Italian and Latin philosophical and cosmological dialogues. In Part Two of *Giordano Bruno*, which is devoted to an appraisal of Bruno's philosophy, McIntyre provides a summation of the geometrical illustrations and verifications that Bruno employs to explicate the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries in the Fifth Dialogue of *De la causa, principio e uno* (*Cause, Principle and Unity*), an Italian philosophical dialogue that was published secretly in London in 1584. The following quotation, which occurs in Chapter 2 of *Giordano Bruno*, 'The Foundations of Knowledge', is fairly lengthy, but I would suggest that it is evident that McIntyre's study of Bruno is the source from which Beckett draws in 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce'. Indeed, Beckett's summary of the coincidence of contraries appears to be in fact a concise précis of McIntyre's text:

> The first illustrations [of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries] are geometrical. The straight line and the circle, or the straight line and the curve, are opposites; but in their elements, or their *minima*, they coincide, for, as Cusanus saw, there is no difference between the smallest possible arc and the smallest possible chord. Again, in the *maxima* there is no difference between the infinite circle and the straight line; the greater a circle is, the more nearly it approximates to straightness ... as a line which is greater in magnitude than another approximates more nearly to straightness, so the greatest of all ought to be

superlatively, more than all, straight, so that in the end the infinite straight line is an infinite circle. Thus the maximum and the minimum come together in one existence [...] and both in the maximum and in the minimum, contraries are one and indifferent.

These geometrical illustrations are "signs" of the identity of contraries, those which follow are called by Bruno "verifications," the first of which is taken from the primary qualities of bodies. The element of heat, its "principle," must be indivisible — it cannot have differences within itself, and can be neither hot nor cold, therefore it is an identity of hot and cold. One contrary is the 'principle' or starting-point of the other, and therefore transmutations are circular, because there is a substrate, principle term, continuation and concurrence of both. So minimal warmth and minimal cold are the same. The movement towards cold takes its beginning from the limit of greatest heat (its "principle" in another sense). Thus not only do the two maxima sometimes concur in resistance, the two minima concur through the succession of transmutations. Doctors fear when one is in the best of health; it is the height of happiness that the foreseeing are most timid. So also the "principle" of corruption and of generation is one and the same. The end of decay is the beginning of generation; corruption is nothing but a generation, generation a corruption. Love is hate, hate is love in the end; hatred of the unfitting is love of the fitting, the love of this the hatred of that. In substance and in root, therefore, love and hate, friendship and

> strife, are one and the same thing. [...] In conclusion: — "He who would know the greatest secrets of nature, let him regard and contemplate the minima and maxima of contraries and opposites. *Profound magic it is to know how to extract the contrary after having found the point of union.*"[9]

Also, in a further passage in this chapter McIntyre refers to God as "the monad of monads"[10] in which all contraries coincide: a phrase that is repeated verbatim in Beckett's essay. To observe that Beckett's discussion of Bruno is a relatively terse one and, it can be argued, derived entirely from a reading of secondary sources, is neither intended as a sleight upon his apprehension of the importance of Bruno in Joyce's personal mythology, nor on his understanding of Bruno's complex and obscure cosmological and philosophical writings. Indeed, as Rupert Wood has observed in defence of Beckett in 'An Endgame of Aesthetics: Beckett as Essayist' in *The Cambridge Companion to Beckett*, 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce' "is perhaps unrepresentative of Beckett's ideas and interests for two reasons: the philosophical angles were in fact Joyce's idea, and the essay was written at Joyce's behest in order to publicize his forthcoming work."[11] His explanation of the Nolan doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, and the significance of its presence in *Finnegans Wake* has scarcely been improved upon by subsequent generations of Joyce scholars. As Ronald J. Koch has argued, "*Wake* criticism has tended to accept this doctrine as an explanation of the numerous pairs of opposites in *Finne*gans *Wake* — usually read as

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[9] J. Lewis McIntyre, *Giordano Bruno* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1903), pp. 176-178.
[10] Ibid, p. 178.
[11] Rupert Wood, 'An Endgame of Aesthetics: Beckett as Essayist', *The Cambridge Companion to Beckett*, ed. John Pilling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 2-3.

attributes of the opposite and feuding sons Shem and Shaun."[12] However, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, the most significant research on the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries has been conducted by scholars of *Ulysses*.

The extent to which Joyce applied the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as a structuring principle in *Finnegans Wake* is beyond the focus of this chapter, and this thesis. Here, I am primarily concerned with ascertaining the nature of Joyce's initial fascination and engagement with Bruno during his years as a student at University College, Dublin; the manner in which he later employs Bruno as an heretical *auctoritas* in his discursive struggle with contemporary Catholicism in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*; and the historicisation of Joyce's appropriation of certain aspects of Bruno's philosophical and cosmological writings in his composition of *Ulysses*. I wish to explore the discursive shock of this youthful apostate Irishman's championing of one of the most notorious heretics in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in his own campaign against a stultified and medievalist Church. However, I would argue that the failure of recent *Wake* criticism to improve on Beckett's reading of the nature of Joyce's attachment to the Brunonian concepts in the *Wake*, and Joyce's own dissatisfaction with Beckett's treatment of Bruno in an essay written, largely, under his supervision, is instructive. In the post-war period the institutional study of Joyce's writings has evolved into a vast critical industry, and even the most limited of bibliographical searches is likely to result in the unearthing of thousands of books and articles on any number of the encyclopaedic aspects of Joyce's life and work. Nevertheless, amidst the plethora of critical material that exists on Joyce, there are no more

[12] Ronald J. Koch, 'Giordano Bruno and *Finnegans Wake*: A New Look at Shaun's Objection to the "Nolanus Theory"', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 9, (1985), p. 257.

than a dozen or so articles and books which attempt to explore, at varying lengths and with varying degrees of success, Joyce's relationship with Bruno throughout his artistic career.[13] Liberato Santoro-Brienza's article 'Joyce's Dialogue with Aquinas, Dante, Bruno, Vico, Svevo ...', was published in 1998, and is the most recent publication to broach the topic of Joyce's relationship with Bruno. It is a salutary, if not disappointing, example of the present critical consensus on this subject. Santoro-Brienzo's article judiciously avoids engaging in any discussion that might approximate to a serious examination of the nature of the dialogue between Joyce and Bruno. While his consideration of Joyce's relationship with Aquinas, Dante, Vico and Svevo results in the sub-division of the article into sections dealing with each of these Italian philosophical and literary figures, there is no corresponding section on Bruno. Santoro-Brienza merely recycles the accepted view that Joyce, whilst still an undergraduate, identified with "Bruno's

[13] Michael Beasaung, 'Authority Under Fire: Italian Heretics and Non-Conformists in Joyce's Work', *Revue des Lettres Modernes: Histoire des Idees et des Litterateur*, 1173-1182 (1994), pp. 77-88; Sheldon Brivic, *Joyce the Creator* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Elliot B. Gose,'The Coincidence of Contraries as Theme and Technique in *Ulysses*', *Joyce's 'Ulysses': The Larger Perspective*, eds., Robert D. Newman and Weldon Thornton (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987), and *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980); Ronald J. Koch, 'Giordano Bruno and *Finnegans Wake*: A New Look at Shaun's Objection to the "Nolanus Theory"'; Robert D. Newman, 'Bloom and the Beast: Joyce's Use of Bruno's Astrological Allegory', *New Alliances in Joyce Studies: "When it's Aped to Foul a Delfian"*, ed. BonnieKime Scott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988); Jean-Michel Rabaté, 'Bruno No, Bruno Si: Notes on a Contradiction in Joyce', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 27:1 (Fall 1989), pp. 31-39; Klaus Reichert, 'The European background to Joyce's writing', *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); John S. Rickard, 'Philotheology in Mecklenburg Street', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 23:1 (Fall 1985), pp. 80-82; Liberato Santoro-Brienzo, 'Joyce's Dialogues with Aquinas, Dante, Bruno, Vico, Svevo ...', *Talking of Joyce*, Umberto Eco and Liberato Santoro-Brienza, ed. Santoro-Brienza (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1998); Bonnie Kime Scott, '*Lyceum*: An Early Resource for Joyce', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 22:1 (Fall 1984), pp. 77-81; Norman Silverstein, 'Bruno's Particles of Reminiscence', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 2 (1965), pp. 271-280; Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Joseph C. Voelker, 'Nature it is': The Influence of Giordano Bruno on James Joyce's Molly Bloom', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 14 (1976), pp. 39-48;

rebellious disposition towards any form of temporal authority and dogmatic power: whether Church or State."[14] He also notes:

> Years later, especially in the writing of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce was to treasure and apply, in his poetic strategies, Bruno's ideal of a final and cosmic unification, as an identity of contraries or — in Cusanus's formula — as the ultimate *coincidentia oppositorum*, of all the temporal oppositions and divisions that make up the chaos of lived experience. In *Finnegans Wake*, in particular, Joyce was to symbolise in the personification of Shem and Shaun the fundamental opposition of the chaotic world in which he lived and of the conflicting tendencies within his own personal history and his poetic universe. In the same work he also granted Bruno of Nola an Irish identity, by confusing him with the Dublin booksellers, *Browne and Nolan*.[15]

Santoro-Brienza says little that is not contained in Beckett's essay of 1929. This observation is not intended as an unmitigated condemnation of his efforts, but as an indication of how Joyce's attachment to Bruno is more often cited than discussed at any great length.

In their respective studies, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, *Joyce the Creator*, *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul*, Elliot

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[14] Liberato Santoro-Brienza, 'Joyce's Dialogues with Aquinas, Dante, Bruno, Vico, Svevo ...', *Talking of Joyce*, Umberto Eco and Liberato Santoro-Brienza, ed. Santoro-Brienza (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1998), p. 49.
[15] Ibid, pp. 50-51.

B. Gose, Sheldon Brivic and Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, devote relatively considerable space to discussions of the extent to which Joyce's reading of Bruno's philosophical and cosmological writings influenced the poetics and aesthetics of *Ulysses*. However, there is no comparable study to rank alongside William T. Noon's *Joyce and Aquinas*, an unsurpassed assessment of the degree to which Joyce's aesthetics can be regarded as in any way Thomistic, that was published in 1957.[16] Although the focus of my research on Joyce and Bruno is restricted to the period in which he first encountered Bruno, and in which he wrote *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, that is, 1901 to 1922, I would argue, without reservation, that there is ample space, and need, for a book-length study of Joyce and Bruno.

I would suggest that the reasons why such a study of Joyce and Bruno does not, as yet, exist, and why extant studies on this subject have been restricted to the exploration of specific aspects of Joyce's engagement with Bruno from *The Day of Rabblement* to *Finnegans Wake*, are twofold and interrelated, and concern the difficulties that are involved in interpreting Joyce's affiliation to Bruno, and, perhaps more fundamentally, the particular problems involved in interpreting Bruno. In one of the most recent English-language studies of Bruno, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, published in 1991, John Bossy is at pains to emphasise that Bruno was an extremely complex and enigmatic figure, and counsels that research on the Nolan's life and work should not be "undertaken lightly."[17] Although I will discuss the obscurity of Bruno at greater length in the course of this chapter, it is worth noting that Stanley L. Jaki, in his

[16] William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New York: Yale University Press, 1957).
[17] John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 138.

introduction to his 1975 translation of *La Cena de le ceneri* (*The Ash Wednesday Supper*), also argues that Bruno is a figure who defies any neat definition:

> He was a soaring poet, an exalted mystic, an ardent pantheist, an instinctive Catholic, a born philosopher, a wizard of mnemotechnics, a vitriolic critic, an amateur scientist, a muddled dreamer, a secretive cabbalist, a dabbler in magic, a flamboyant reformer and an amorous rogue.[18]

In 'Giordano Bruno, Wilde and Yeats', an article that appeared in *English Studies* in 1964, W. Schrick argues that "the reading taken up by artists is often desultory and wide-ranging which makes it all the more difficult for source-hunters not to follow false trails."[19] As an undergraduate, Joyce's reading was both eclectic and idiosyncratic, and any attempt to trace the origins and contexts of his reading of exemplary literary and philosophical figures, especially Bruno, is liable to result in such a pursuit of false trails. Although I will discuss at greater length the interest in Bruno in English literary culture during the 1890s, at this particular juncture it is sufficient to observe that interest in Bruno was restricted to a coterie, and in scholarly accounts and indexes of the literary output of this period the name of Bruno is largely omitted.[20] Critical appraisals of Joyce's fascination with Bruno have been hampered by the absence of an account of the relatively underground interest in Bruno among the writers of the 1880s and 1890s, and by the difficulties involved in attempting to discern the contexts

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[18] Stanley L. Jaki, 'Introduction', Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper. La Cena de le ceneri* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton and Co., 1975), p. 9.
[19] W. Schrick, 'On Giordano Bruno, Wilde and Yeats', *English Studies: A Journal of English Language Literature*, 45 (1964), p. 257.

in which Joyce initially encountered the Nolan. The nature of Joyce's references to Bruno in his writings, notes and letters, is often elliptical, cryptic or concisely matter-of-fact; and this necessitates the undertaking of a significant amount of contextual analysis and conjecture to produce a plausible reading. In 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce,' Beckett famously argued that "The danger is in the neatness of the identifications", and "Literary criticism is not book-keeping."[21] However, the fundamental concern of this thesis is the attempt to historicise Joyce's critical engagement with contemporary Catholicism in *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, and *Ulysses*, and the successful pursuit of such a critical approach is largely dependent on isolating and ascertaining the nature of specific identifications in specific contexts. In this chapter I will discuss the obscurity of Bruno, and the possible historical and literary contexts in which Joyce may have encountered Bruno; and I will attempt to assess the extent to which Joyce's youthful encounter with the heretical Dominican friar allowed him to steel himself in his intellectual struggle with contemporary Catholicism. Without engaging in a pedantic search to verify the circumstances in which Joyce encounters Bruno, or confirming which of Bruno's writings he had actually read, and what he gleaned from such readings, as a preliminary critical procedure, any further discussion of the presence of Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement*, *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, is liable to be based on uncertain conjecture and supposition. Past readings of Joyce's entanglement with contemporary Catholicism, with the exception of Hughes's highly suggestive essay, 'Joyce and Catholicism' in *Irish Writers and Religion*, have customarily been characterised by unsubstantiated assertions of the oppressive and philistine

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[20] See ibid, p. 258.
[21] Beckett, 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce,' pp. 3-4.

nature of the Irish Church. And the complex question of Joyce's attachment to Bruno is customarily explained with the pat observation that Bruno was one of the "fiery badgers of heresy"[22] to whom Joyce transferred his allegiance in his own anti-authoritarian struggle with an ecclesiastical institution that demanded intellectual servitude and dependence. Whilst this is all undoubtedly true, in this thesis I wish to examine the contexts and circumstances of Joyce's encounter with Bruno, and the manner in which his identification with this exemplary heretical figure is incorporated into his struggle with contemporary Catholicism.

II: The Obscurity of Giordano Bruno

> The megalomania of the magician is combined with a poetic enthusiasm of appalling intensity. The lunatic, the lover, and the poet were never all of imagination so compact as Giordano Bruno.[23]

I would argue that previous attempts to examine the nature of Joyce's affiliation to the "heresiarch martyr of Nola" (*CW* 132) have been hindered by the fundamental difficulties that are involved in the interpretation of Bruno. These difficulties are related to the inherent complexities of Bruno's esoteric writings, and the slow, and contested, manner in which Bruno's rehabilitation has been effected. An examination of Joyce's dialogue with Bruno is, one could argue, more complex than those which he conducted throughout his works with

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[22] Michael Beasaung, 'Authority Under Fire: Italian Heretics and Non-Conformists in Joyce's Work', p. 77.
[23] Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 240.

such exemplary philosophical and literary figures as Aristotle, Aquinas, Dante, Vico and Ibsen. These philosophical and literary figures have, with the exception of Vico, made the uncertain and precarious journey from discursive positions that were marginal to the dominant philosophical and literary orthodoxies and conventions of their respective historical moments, to achieve positions that are now canonical. Indeed, as J. Mitchell Morse has noted in *The Sympathetic Alien: James Joyce and Catholicism*, "Aquinas' theology, like Aristotle's philosophy, was first condemned as heretical and later prescribed as the standard of orthodoxy."[24] The same cannot be said of Bruno. He has never made such a transition from a position of anathematised obscurity to one that can be regarded as in any way orthodox. Bruno was an obscure, mysterious figure during his troubled life; and he still occupies a vestigial position in ecclesiastical and philosophical histories. Joyce's attachment to an individual who has yet to overcome his anathematised and obscure status is of considerable interest for the critic of Joyce's negotiations with Catholicism. The very obscurity of his life and work, and the manner in which his biography and writings have been interpellated by the rival forces of reactionary Catholicism and anticlericalism in their respective discursive campaigns, however, does complicate any interpretation of Bruno. He is a figure who was cast into the shadows by the Church, and whose life and work has been subject to the not inconsiderable whims of myth and propaganda.

For the Church Bruno is still an anathema. The last edition of the *Index* was published in 1948, and in 1966, as part of the liberalisation of the Roman Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council, Cardinal Alfredo Ottoviani,

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[24] J. Mitchell Morse, *Sympathetic Alien: James Joyce and Catholicism* (New York: New York University Press, 1959), p. 90.

the head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, declared that no further editions would be prepared.[25] The *Index* remains only as a historical document. However, the status of Bruno's writings for orthodox Catholicism remains unchanged. In spite of the Vatican's reassessment of its troubled relationship with Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543) and Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), the two other great cosmologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who challenged the continued hegemony of geocentrism, there has been no attempt to effect a *rapprochement* with Bruno. Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, the treatise in which he propounded the theory of a finite heliocentric universe, and which was dedicated to Pope Paul III, was removed from the *Index* in 1822 (it had been proscribed by the Holy Office as heretical in 1616),[26] and the Church ceased to take part in further disputations on astronomy. It has recently apologised for the ordeal that Galileo endured at the hands of the Inquisition in 1632. Galileo was famously forced to recant his support of the Copernican system in his work *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi*.[27] However, there has been no similar attempt to redress the injustice of Bruno's imprisonment, trial and death. The *Index* may now be defunct, but, as D. Dee has dryly noted in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, "No matter from whom permission has been obtained, no one is exempted from the prohibition of the natural law that forbids one to read books that place him in proximate spiritual danger. The Church still claims the authority to prohibit a book when it

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[25] See D. Dee's entry for the *Index* in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VII (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 435.
[26] See Paul Henri Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, trans. R. E. W. Maddison (London: Methuen, 1973), p. 294.
[27] See 'Editor's Introduction', *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, Giordano Bruno, trans. Arthur D. Imerti (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 276n.

contributes a general danger to the faith or morals of Catholics."[28] The observation that the Catholic Church still reserves the right to proscribe those texts that it considers to be injurious to the faith and morals of those within the Catholic communion, may appear utterly superfluous for those whose lives are lived beyond the writ of ecclesiastical authority in the secularised environments of most contemporary Western societies. However, it should be noted that in Edwardian Ireland the influence of the Catholic Church was considerable, and that the teachings of the Church arguably carried greater weight for the majority Catholic population than the legislation of the Imperial British state. In such a discursive environment, Joyce's attachment to the anathematised Bruno, "one of the atheistic writers whom the papal secretary puts on the *Index*" (*SH* 46), must surely be seen as a provocative signification of his disavowal of the rights and claims of the Church of his upbringing and education. In the eyes of the Church, Joyce had, in his attachment to Bruno, allied himself with the enemies of Christ; he is one of the "wolves of disbelief" (*SH* 58) from whom the Church wished to defend its flock.

Bruno conducted his discursive assault upon the social and religious institutions of his time from beyond the pale. Although Bruno's life would be distinguished by his incessant warring against the enervated and moribund Aristotelianism of contemporary philosophy and theology, it was in these peripatetic disciplines that he received his philosophical training. Scholasticism, according to Voltaire, was "the bastard daughter of Aristotle's philosophy,"[29] and, crucially, was the philosophical basis of Catholic apologetic. Bruno's critical engagement with the theologico-philosophical system that was the

[28] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, p. 435.

touchstone of Catholic orthodoxy was to place him in a dangerous conflict with the Church. In Lester R. Kurtz's phrase, Bruno was a "deviant insider."[30] He is an individual who emerged from the discursive environment in which the theologico-philosophical system of contemporary Catholicism was produced, and reproduced, and who subsequently conducted an intemperate critique of that scholastic system. It was at the monastery of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples, which had also been home to Aquinas, "the light and honour of peripateticism," that he received his scholastic training, and he became a Doctor of Theology in 1575.[31] However, his growing dissatisfaction with the static nature of contemporary Aristotelianism, his enthusiasm for the humanist writings of Erasmus, allied to his stubborn and intractable personality, brought him into conflict with his ecclesiastical superiors. In 1576 Bruno learned that the Neapolitan Inquisition had drawn up one hundred and thirty accusations of heresy against him, and he fled from Naples to Rome; he stayed here briefly before embarking on his peripatetic existence in the intellectual centres of Europe.[32] His subsequent pursuit of intellectual freedom beyond the jurisdictional claims of the Inquisition was to place him beyond the pale for orthodox Catholicism. Having determined to do so, Bruno was to help ensure that his shadowy and uncommonly nomadic life would be ultimately written into the margins of subsequent histories, or expunged altogether. During his life Bruno spent time in the intellectual centres of sixteenth-century Europe: Genoa, Turin, Venice, Padua, Paris, Toulouse, Oxford, London, Wittenberg, and Frankfurt. Bruno has the dubious honour of having been denounced as heretical

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[29] Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 38.
[30] Ibid, p. 2.
[31] Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 12.

by both the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church and the Consistory of Calvinist Geneva. However, the errant Dominican was never successful in obtaining tenure at any of the universities he visited. Much of his eclectic body of work was published in secret, and, on occasion, his writings bore false Parisian and Venetian imprints. A work that appeared to originate in a Catholic country was less likely to arouse suspicion than one that published in Protestant London. *La Cena de la ceneri* (*The Ash Wednesday Supper*), *De la causa, principio e uno* (*Cause, Principle and Unity*), and *Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante* (*The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*) were all published bearing false Parisian imprints.[33] After his death at the hands of the Roman Inquisition at the Campo dei Fiori in Rome in February 1600, Bruno became an anathema, and his name was not to be uttered, or even acknowledged. His books were publicly burned; and were placed on the *Index*, where, according to J. Lewis McIntyre, "They were classed with other dangerous works on the black arts."[34]

Joyce's interest in such a "deviant insider" as Bruno certainly adds steel and weight to his own "war" (*Letters II* 48) against the Church. However, the manner in which Bruno was anathematised and written out of history after his death, does present difficulties for a critical appraisal of Joyce's engagement with Bruno. Beckett may have been dismissive of the "book-keeping" and "herrdoktoring"[35] of certain forms of literary criticism, and of Joycean criticism

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[32] Imert, 'Editor's Introduction', *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 4.
[33] Ibid, p. 21.
[34] J. Lewis McIntyre, *Giordano Bruno* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1903), p. 97. Joyce reviewed this study for the Dublin *Daily Express*, October 30, 1903. See 'The Bruno Philosophy' (*CW* 132-134). In *Giordano Bruno* McIntyre asserts that Bruno's works were placed on the *Index* some three years after his death, on August 7, 1603 (p. 97). However, the 1940 edition of the *Index* states that Bruno's works were, in George Tyrell's phrase, 'Indexed' on 8 February, 1600. See *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, p. 66.
[35] In a letter to Mary Manning Howe, 13 August, 1958, Beckett comments on Hugh Kenner's study: *Dublin's Joyce* (Guildford: Columbia University Press, 1987). Beckett writes that he

in particular, but the contextualisation of Joyce's struggle with Catholicism, and with Bruno, does necessitate such a pedantic verification of sources and references. However, this is complicated by the often-contradictory nature of Bruno's critical heritage. Furthermore, for the non-Italian-speaking English language critic there is the added difficulty of the availability of not only reliable English translations of Bruno's Italian and Latin writings, but also of translations of research undertaken on the continent on Bruno. The first English-language biographies of Bruno, by I. Frith and McIntyre, published in 1887 and 1903, are either out of print or difficult to obtain. The contemporary reader interested in Bruno is thus more likely to consult the more recent and readily available studies of Bruno: Dorothea Waley Singer's *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought* (1950), Frances A. Yates's *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), and John Bossy's *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (1991). While access to such scholarship is of immeasurable worth, to examine the nature of Joyce's reading of Bruno it is crucial that one apprehends the critical status of Bruno during the 1900s. Such a reconstruction is laborious, but necessary.

Paul Henri Michel has argued in *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, that Bruno is a figure who is "at once famous and unknown, renowned and obscure. Much has been written about him [...] Nevertheless, most people at the present time who have heard his name know nothing about him except that he was burnt at the stake."[36] Michel's peerless work was first published in Paris in 1962, and translated subsequently into English by R. E. W. Maddison in 1973. Although scholars in Italy, France and Germany have undertaken the majority of research on Bruno, there is little to suggest that Bruno's status has radically altered since

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found Kenner's work "very brilliant and erudite but dementedly over explicative it seems to me, though Joyce invites such herrdoktoring as any writer ever", Knowlson, *Damned to Fame*, p. 454.

that time. The most recent English-language studies of Bruno have been concerned with the exploration of his role and influence in the political and religious intrigues of Elizabethan England. In his 1992 study *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* Charles Nicholl discusses the charge made by Robert Greene in 1588 that Marlowe was familiar with the blasphemous and heretical work of "the mad priest of the sun" Bruno.[37] Nicholl relies heavily on Yates's reading of Bruno in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, and is unfortunate to have completed his book before the publication of John Bossy's 1991 study *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* which claims to have unearthed evidence that Bruno was, like Marlowe, engaged in espionage for Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham. However, in spite of these recent studies, Bruno is still a relatively obscure figure, and research on his life and work remains a coterie interest.

Bruno was a figure of some considerable controversy during his own lifetime, and the black ink that was written by the forces of Catholic reaction in the century after his death guaranteed that Bruno would long remain an anathematised figure. Such a propagandist redaction of Bruno is further complicated by the manner in which his name and legacy was appropriated by the forces of nineteenth-century anticlericalism as an atheistic prophet of modern science who was martyred by a benighted and reactionary Catholic Church. Edward A. Gosselin and Lawrence S. Lerner, in their introduction to their 1977 translation of *La Cena de la ceneri*, argue that interpretations of Bruno are hindered by the Bruno myth that has grown since his death in 1600, and that

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[36] Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 9.
[37] Robert Greene, 'Preface', *Perimedes the Blacksmith, Complete Works in Prose and Verse*, ed. Alexander B. Gossart, Vol. VII (London, 1881-6), p. 8; cited Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), p. 203.

much of that mythical content is formed by "the moral imperatives implicit in an intellectual climate of an era long after Bruno's life."[38] They give a concise summarisation of the dominant Bruno myth:

> An itinerant renegade friar, Bruno defied contemporary ecclesiastical authority and doctrines. In addition, he vehemently rejected the commonly held Ptolemaic belief that the earth lay at the center of the universe, and engaged in mystical speculation which centered about his pioneering support of the Copernican universe. In connection with his Copernican beliefs, he held also that the universe contains an infinite number of worlds populated with intelligent beings. On account of these teachings, Bruno was tried for heresy by the Inquisition and burned at the stake in 1600. He thus became the first martyr of modern science at the hands of the Church, and thereby a precursor of Galileo. The moral of this nineteenth-century story is that Science, the bearer of knowledge, struggles to an inevitable victory over the Church, the champion of ignorance and superstition.[39]

Furthermore, as Hilary Gatti has noted in his excellent study of the influence of Bruno on late Elizabethan England, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England*, the study of Bruno is characterised by

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[38] 'Introduction', *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, trans. Edward A. Gosselin and Lawrence S. Lerner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1995. First published 1977), p. 11.
[39] Ibid, pp. 11-12.

"a long and contradictory critical history."[40] The uncertain nature of Bruno's critical heritage is nowhere more apparent than in the different focuses of Brunonian research of continental scholars on the one hand, and British scholars on the other. In a recent article, 'Coleridge's Reading of Giordano Bruno', Gatti has observed that the most recent research on the continent has been undertaken by historians of philosophy concerned with the history of critical readings of his works during the Enlightenment and Romantic period.[41] However, Gatti argues that such attention has not been emulated in the English-speaking world, "still intent, it would seem, on working out the significance and implications of Frances Yates's widely admired interpretation of Bruno as a Hermetic philosopher of a largely mystical and magical bent."[42]

As I have argued, the present confusion that surrounds the critical status of Bruno is partly due to the slow and contested manner in which his rehabilitation has been effected. In his introduction to his excellent study of the cosmology of Bruno, Michel gives a concise account of the status of Bruno's reputation after his death. The impact of his condemnation and execution cannot be underestimated. As an obstinate heretic who had suffered the full censure of the Inquisition, Bruno's name was not to be uttered, and his writings were not to be read. Perhaps the most pathetic result of Bruno's *auto-da-fé* was the impact it

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[40] Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. xii. It is of interest to note that Gatti argues that Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, a text that occupies such an important presence in *Ulysses*, contains significant Brunonian elements.

[41] Hilary Gatti, 'Coleridge's Reading of Giordano Bruno', *Wordsworth Circle*, 27:3 (Summer 1996), p. 136. See Savero Ricci, *La fortuna del pensiero di Giordano Bruno, 1600-1750* (1990); G. Aquilecchia, *Schede bruniane* (1993); Hans Blumenberg, "Not a Martyr for Copernicanism: Giordano Brunio," *The Genesis of the Copernican World*, (originally *Die Genesis der kopernikanischen Welt*, 1975), trans. Robert M. Wallace (1987), 353-85; Saverio Ricci, "*La recezione del pensiero di Giordano Bruno in Francia e Germania. Da Diderot s Schelling*," in *Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana*, XI (September-December, 1991); and Werner Beier, "Absolute Identity: Neoplatonic Implications in Schelling's *Bruno*," *Contemporary German Philosophy* (1983), 73-99.

[42] Ibid, p. 136.

had on the proponents of the new physics and the new astronomy. Bruno had been an enthusiastic supporter of Copernicus's heliocentric theory, and the Nolan's defence of this theory is one of the major concerns of the *La Cena de le ceneri*, the Italian dialogue published secretly in London in 1584. For Bruno, Copernicus's heliocentric theory was "a foundation of and a metaphor for his own vast philosophical-theological-political-social program."[43] His cosmology would not be concerned with a finite heliocentric universe, but an infinite universe of infinite worlds. However, no tribute was ever made to Bruno by the physicists and astronomers who challenged the hegemony of the Ptolemaic-Aristotelian conception of the universe: the "mechanical heaven" (*SH* 91) that was at the very heart of medieval scholasticism. As Michel notes:

> His name is not mentioned by Galileo in the *Nuncius sidereus*. True, Kepler expressed surprise at his omission; and Martin Hasdale in a letter dated 15 April 1610 informed Galileo to that effect, but Galileo remained deaf to such diffident protests; he never evoked the memory of Bruno. The silence of Descartes, even though broken two or three times by a fleeting allusion, is no less significant. Beneath the veil of almost total oblivion, often voluntary and long maintained, the elements of a legend itself the prelude to passionate exegesis, have developed.[44]

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Bruno legend that appears is a "pious fiction", and was uttered only by "those who approved of

[43] Gosselin and Lerner, 'Introduction', *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 13.
[44] Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 9.

the severity of the Holy Office." [45] Bruno's life is thus subject to the moral imperatives of those who wished to sanction the reactionary nature of the Counter-Reformation. He was regarded as "the most dangerous thinker [...] of deists, atheists or free-thinkers."[46] His life becomes a cautionary tale; his fate that which awaits all those overreachers who would arrogate the right to challenge the doctrines of Mother Church. In the pious fictions of the Counter-Reformation Bruno is the "terrible heretic" (*P* 271) whom Father Ghezzi admonishes Stephen Dedalus for alluding to in *A Portrait*. Although Bruno was never an avowed atheist — it would be more accurate to describe him as a pantheist — the charge that he was a dangerous, atheistic, blaspheming heresiarch, prevailed until the nineteenth century.

During the nineteenth century another myth was produced, and it quickly became the dominant reading of Bruno's life. As Michel notes:

> It is remarkable that the new legend bases its authority on the same facts as the first one, as well as on the same errors. As for the facts, (by which we mean those relating to biography), the new legend confines itself to presenting them in a fresh light and giving them another meaning: that which was only sound justice becomes martyrdom. Moreover, it claims to restore truth to the facts; it strives to do so, and on occasion corrects certain flagrant inaccuracies, which had been long accepted without verification. As for the errors (those relating to the interpretation of Bruno's thought and betraying inadequate knowledge, when it is not

[45] Ibid, p. 9.
[46] A comment attributed to Marin Marsenne. No citation is given. Ibid, p. 9.

> complete ignorance of his writings), they are not corrected; on the contrary, they have been piously collected together in order to be used for other purposes: the accusations of innate godlessness, atheism and materialism are retained, but to the glory of the accused and not to his shame. In this way the elements of a new portrait, lacking fidelity just as much as the former, notwithstanding the good intentions of those who inspired it, have been assembled. A character is established in conventional imagery, and becomes familiar to a fresh public of devotees.[47]

In 'Coleridge's Reading of Giordano Bruno' Hilary Gatti has observed that there is evidence of interest in Bruno amongst the poets and philosophers of German Romanticism in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The Romantic reference to Bruno consists of a genuinely philosophical consideration of Bruno's writings, and is not "centred on his dramatic life of exile and his death at the stake, [...] an accusation which could be moved against some of the writers of the end of the nineteenth century."[48] Gatti argues that the absence of references to Bruno's life in the writings of Coleridge, and the German Romantics, is primarily due to the fact that the first full-scale biographical studies of Bruno had not yet been written, and "notions of how he lived and died were still vague and undocumented."[49]

The birth of the new Bruno legend coincides with the emergence of the first biographical studies of Bruno, although Michel argues that these studies are remarkable in that they are relatively impartial, and do not merely reproduce the

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[47] Ibid, p. 10.
[48] Gatti, 'Coleridge's Reading of Giordano Bruno,' p. 143.

emergent Bruno myth. Brunonian studies can be regarded as having begun in the 1840s. Michel notes:

> In 1846-1847, Christian Bartholmess published his *Jordano Bruno*, in two volumes, at Paris; it was immediately followed by Moritz Carrière's *Die philosophische Weltanschung der Reformationszeit in ihren Beziehungen zur Gegenwart*, a large part of which is devoted to Giordano Bruno.[50]

However, the major advances in historical research on Bruno were undertaken in the following decades in Italy, in the years immediately prior to Italian unification. Roberto Spaventa's *Saggi di critica filosofica, politica e religiose* was published in Naples in 1867, and Domenico Berti's documented biography, *La vita di Giordano da Nola*, was published in Turin in 1868. The biographical sources are largely taken from documents relating to his first trial at the hands of the Venetian Holy Office in 1592, and from incidents related by Bruno himself in his writings, and not from the extensive documentation that resulted from the trial in Rome. Unfortunately the records of the Roman trial have been lost. As Michel notes, until the beginning of the nineteenth century the documents relating to Bruno's Roman trial had been stored in the Vatican and had never been studied by historians. In 1810 a proportion of the Roman archives were taken on Napoleon's orders to Paris. After Napoleon's defeat in 1815 it was ordered that the archives be returned to the Vatican, but they disappeared in transit between 1815 and 1817; the documents relating to Bruno's trial were

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[49] Ibid, p. 143.
[50] Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 11.

among those lost.[51] In 1880 Berti published his indispensable accompaniment to his biography of Bruno, *Documenti*. Berti's scholarship provided the starting point for all further biographical study of Bruno. McIntyre, in the preface to his 1903 study of Bruno, *Giordano Bruno*, acknowledges Berti as his prime source. In 1921 "Berti's works were revised, annotated and corrected in various places by Vincenzo Spampanato, whose *Vita di Giordano Bruno, [con documenti editi e inediti]* is authoritative."[52] Gatti observes, in *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, that there have been no recent full-scale biographical studies of Bruno, and that "Spampanato's work has been incorporated into the works of Dorothea Waley Singer [...] and Frances A. Yates."[53] The Latin works of Bruno were also published over the years 1879-1891 under the editorial direction of Francesco Fiorentino; and the Italian works, originally compiled by Paolo de Lagarde in 1888, "were reissued under the editorship of Giovanni Gentile, first in 1907, and again in 1925."[54]

As I have noted, Michel has argued that the scholarly rehabilitation of Bruno during the latter half of the nineteenth century was distinguished by its relatively impartial appraisal of the Nolan's life and work. However, it is perhaps inevitable that the growth in biographical and critical studies on Bruno, and the publication of the Latin and Italian works, should have given academic legitimation for the contemporaneous development of the Bruno legend. The country in which the Bruno legend took the greatest purchase during the nineteenth century was Italy, where it was interpellated into the anticlerical

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[51] Ibid, p. 18.
[52] Ibid, pp. 11-12.
[53] Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, p. 190n.
[54] *Jordani Bruni Nolani Opera latine conscripta*, ed. Francesco Fiorentino, 8 vols. (Neapoli: Dom Morano, 1879-1891); *Le Opere italiane di Giordano Bruno*, ed. Paolo de Lagarde (Gottingen: Lüder Horstman, 1888). See Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 12.

discursive assaults of republican Italian nationalism. Gosselin and Lerner have noted that, although "It is not clear just how or when it [the Bruno legend] came into existence, [...] it attracted wide attention in the late nineteenth century in connection with the Risorgimento and the extraordinarily bad light in which the latter cast the ultrareactionary Catholic Church."[55] As I observed in Chapter 1, the Papal States, the temporal domain in which the pontiff wielded autocratic power in the Italian peninsula, were synonymous with the rights and claims of the *ancien régime* in Europe. In the post-Enlightenment era they were perceived as symbolic of all that was dogmatic, benighted and reactionary.[56] The Papal States had been annexed during the revolutionary year of 1848, and were replaced by the short-lived Roman Republic. The Papal States remained intact until 1870, when the forces of Italian nationalism again invaded them. It was an act that forced the suspension of the First Vatican Council, and the conceding of all territory beyond the Vatican to the newly unified Kingdom of Italy. For the Vatican the forces of republican Italian nationalism were a dramatic representation of modernity; indicative of a cultural condition that it regarded as hostile, materialistic, secularised, and profoundly in error of the teachings of the Church. The position of the Papal States in the Italian peninsula had long been a source of chagrin for the forces of republican Italian nationalism, and the anticlericalism that was precipitated by this symbol of the autocratic and unenlightened *ancien régime*, did not die with the unification of Italy in 1870.

The place of the Bruno legend within the anticlerical discursive practices of the Risorgimento period is primarily symbolic, and is more concerned with the relatively arbitrary celebration of Bruno as a martyr of modern science at the

[55] Gosselin and Lerner, 'Introduction', *La Cena de le ceneri. The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 22.
[56] See Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, pp. 25-51.

hands of a benighted and autocratic Church, than with the substance of his thought. (Indeed, Anthony Burgess has suggested in *You've Had Your Time* that the honouring of Bruno by the Italians as a "victim of papal obscurantism" is largely a result of the "anarchic" Roman sensibility.)[57] However, the absence of a broader attention to his writings does not diminish the subversive and provocative nature of the public attachment to the Bruno legend amongst Italian liberals and intellectuals. It was a wilful affront to the rights and claims of the Church during a period in which an Ultramontane Vatican was attempting to cultivate an institutional and philosophical climate of medievalism. During the pontificates of Pius IX, Leo XIII and Pius X, the Catholic Church, confronted with a contemporary culture that it regarded as hostile and erroneous, sought to create an ecclesiastical institution that was a simulacrum of the medieval Church against which Bruno had rebelled.

Although Gosselin and Lerner speculate that "thousands of Romans pass Bruno's statue every day without a glimmer of interest,"[58] the erection of a statue of Giordano Bruno, executed by H. Ferrari, in the Campo dei Fiori in 1889 did arouse some considerable consternation. This memorial statue was financed by an international collection, and was dedicated with great pomp. The statue dominates the small piazza; and Bruno, figured in his monastic habit, staring sternly from beneath his cowl, his arms crossed proudly, his hands clasping an open book, is nothing but a figure of glowering defiance. The plinth upon which the statue rests displays three panels depicting Bruno teaching, his trial, and death at the stake, and bears the inscription: "A BRUNO. IL SECOLO DA DIVINATO QUI OVE IL ROGO ARSE" (TO BRUNO. THE CENTURY WAS

[57] Anthony Burgess, *You've Had Your Time* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 243.
[58] Gosselin and Lerner, 'Introduction', *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 23.

DIVINED BY HIM HERE WHERE THE FIRE BURNED).[59] Klaus Reichert has observed in 'The European Background of Joyce's Writing' in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce* that the erection of such a statue was "at one and the same time a symbol of the liberation from the Church State [sic] and of the triumph of science."[60] Leo XIII condemned this act, and from within his "prison" in the Vatican he maintained the justice of Bruno's execution, and declared a day of fasting and prayer.[61]

In the four centuries that have passed since Bruno was led to the Campo dei Fiori his critical history has been a site of contest. In this section I have attempted to discuss the difficulties that such a contested legacy presents for the critic at the turn of the twenty-first century, who would attempt to assess the nature of Joyce's engagement with Bruno during the 1900s. In 'In Memory of W. B. Yeats', W. H. Auden famously wrote: "The words of a dead man / Are modified in the guts of the living."[62] Bruno has had the uncommon distinction of having had both the nature of his writings, and the circumstances of his life and death, subjected to the moral imperatives of reactionary Catholicism and anticlericalism. He has been anathematised as an impious and unrepentant heretic, and celebrated as a martyr of modern science. In the context of British academia it is Frances A. Yates's reading of Bruno as "a Hermetic philosopher of a largely mystical and magical bent" that prevails. It is my contention that any attempt to explore the nature of Joyce's engagement with Bruno must be cognisant of the manner in which Bruno's legacy has been appropriated by the

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[59] I am grateful to Fabio Caiani for this translation.
[60] Klaus Reichert, 'The European Background of Joyce's Writing', *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 58.
[61] Ibid, p. 23.
[62] W. H. Auden, 'In Memory of W. B. Yeats', *Collected Shorter Poems: 1927-1957* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 141.

"pious fictions" of the Counter-Reformation, and the corresponding impious fictions of anticlericalism. The emergence of these fictions is intimately associated with the troubled history of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe since the religious, political and cultural turmoil of the sixteenth century. As I argued in Chapter 1, during the years in which Joyce was born, educated, and grew to maturity, the Vatican cultivated an institutional and philosophical climate of medievalism as a defence against the perceived vagaries of modernity. I would argue that Joyce's attachment to Bruno is revelatory not only of the manner in which he perceived contemporary Catholicism, but also of how he conceived of his own struggle against the Church.

III: 'An Unexpected Master': The Circumstances and Contexts of Joyce's Encounter with Bruno

During his brief sojourn in Rome in 1906 and 1907 Joyce witnessed the annual procession in honour of Bruno on the anniversary of his death, that took place at the Campo dei Fiori on 17 February 1907. In a letter to his brother Stanislaus Joyce on 1 March, he writes of his reactions to this procession:

> The spectacle of the procession in honour of the Nolan left me quite cold. I understand that anti-clerical history probably contains a large percentage of lies but this is not enough to drive me back howling to my gods. (*Letters II* 217)

On the previous day he had overheard some Americans discussing Bruno: "They seem to know something of him but I dislike the accent." (*Letters II* 215) His snobbery aside, these comments seems to suggest that Joyce came to possess a relatively detached, if not hostile, view of the manner in which Bruno's reputation had been rehabilitated and enlisted into the anticlericalist discursive struggle against contemporary Catholicism. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Joyce was a reader of the Italian anticlericalist newspaper *L'Asino* during his Roman sojourn, and offered to send copies of the paper to Stanislaus (*Letters II* 151). It is perhaps unsurprising that the youthful ardour and diabolic enthusiasm that Joyce elicited for Bruno whilst still an undergraduate at University College, Dublin, between 1898 and 1902, should have lessened during his mid-twenties, when he had already left Ireland and begun his own uncertain peripatetic life on the continent with his young family. It was during his stay in Rome that Joyce began to work on what would be the final story of *Dubliners*, 'The Dead', conceived of a story that would be the germ from which *Ulysses* would eventually grow, 'Hunter', and completed the manuscript of the unwieldy *Stephen Hero*. As I have noted, at this time Joyce's literary, familial and financial situation was far from certain: *Dubliners* was not to be published until 1914, Nora was pregnant with Lucia, Joyce was still reliant on financial assistance from Stanislaus to bolster his own modest earnings, and he was attempting to orchestrate a return to Trieste. In spite of these difficulties he had made the decisive break with Ireland, and had embarked on an artistic and domestic life that was an heretical disavowal of the narrow morality of bourgeois Catholic Dublin. It is understandable that the importance of Bruno in Joyce's personal mythology should have lessened once Joyce had placed himself

physically, although not yet psychologically, beyond the nets of "nationality, language, religion" (*P* 220), and begun to accept his situation as that of a "voluntary exile" (*Letters II* 84). The development of a more ironical and detached relationship with "the heresiarch martyr of Nola" during the long composition of *A Portrait* in no way diminishes the significance of Joyce's initial encounter with Bruno. As I have argued, although Joyce's relationship with Bruno was an enduring one, his response to the Nolan's life and work did alter during the course of his life. The undergraduate who employs the heretical *auctoritas* of Bruno in his attack on the Irish Literary Theatre in 1901, is not the mature artist who incorporates the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries into *Work in Progress* as a structuring principle during the 1920s and 1930s.

As I stated in the introduction to this chapter, my concern here is to ascertain the nature of Joyce's initial fascination and engagement with Bruno during his years as a student at University College in Dublin, preliminary to an exploration of the manner in which he later employs Bruno as an heretical *auctoritas* in his discursive struggle with contemporary Catholicism in *The Day of the Rabblement*, *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*. I also argued that the nature of Joyce's references to Bruno in his writings, letters and notes throughout his career, and even during the period in which he first encountered the heretical Dominican friar, is often elliptical, cryptic or concisely matter-of-fact. In this respect, it necessary to undertake a significant amount of contextual analysis and conjecture in order to produce a plausible reading of the nature of Joyce's youthful encounter with Bruno.

The biographical material relating to Joyce's initial encounter with Bruno is relatively scant. What references exist merely confirm that Joyce had begun to

read Bruno around 1900, but give no extensive indication of which particular works he had read, and what he had gleaned from these readings. There is no mention of Bruno in the letters Joyce wrote during this period (the first references to Bruno in his correspondence occur in two letters he wrote to Stanislaus from Rome in 1907, and twenty years later in two letters addressed to Harriet Shaw Weaver in 1926 and 1927 during his composition of *Finnegans Wake*.) According to Richard Ellmann in *James Joyce*, it was while studying Italian at University College, Dublin, with the Jesuit Father Charles Ghezzi, that he first began to read the works of Bruno. Bruno's writings were not part of the curriculum and, indeed, it would be inconceivable that the writings of an anathematised heretic would be formally studied in this Jesuit-administered institution. Ellmann states that the focus of his study with Ghezzi was the writings of Dante and D'Annunzio. However, as Ellmann notes:

> For his courses, and beyond them, Joyce read among Italian poets and storytellers. He talked of Calvacanti, he grew interested in the conflicts of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and among the philosophers he found an unexpected master in Giordano Bruno. (*JJ* 59)

Ellmann describes Ghezzi as a "thoroughly sympathetic, liberal teacher" who did not seek to censure Joyce's intellectual pursuits, and actually encouraged him in his interest in aesthetics (*JJ* 59). Indeed, in *My Brother's Keeper* Stanislaus Joyce notes that his brother and Ghezzi engaged in lively debates about D'Annunzio's novel *Il Fuoco*, which was then on the *Index*, and writes with

barbed generosity that Ghezzi came "from a Kultur-Stadt in the producer country of Catholicism, [and] was not in full sympathy with the ignorant obedience mixed with Puritanism, which is the Irish blend." (*MBK* 154) It is evident from the famous scenes in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, in which Stephen discusses the "terrible heretic" Bruno with his Italian tutor (*P* 271), that Joyce retained an affection for Ghezzi. As Ellmann notes, Joyce's fictional representations of Ghezzi are relatively "benign". (*JJ* 60) It is evident from the following scene in *Stephen Hero* that the Italian Jesuit is not regarded with the same disdain that Stephen elicits for his other Jesuit tutors:

> No-one else in the college studied Italian and every second morning he came to the college at ten o'clock and went up to Father Artifoni's bedroom. Father Artifoni was an intelligent little *moro*, who came from Bergamo, a town in Lombardy. He had clean lively eyes and a thick full mouth. Every morning when Stephen rapped at his door [he] there was the noise of chairs being disarranged before the 'Avanti!' The little priest never read in the sitting posture and the noise which Stephen heard was the noise of an improvised lectern returning to its constituent parts, namely, two cane chairs and a stiff blotting-pad. The Italian lessons often extended beyond the hour and much less grammar and literature was discussed than philosophy. The teacher probably knew the doubtful reputation of his pupil but for this very reason he adopted a language of ingenuous piety, not that he was himself Jesuit enough to lack ingenuousness but that he was Italian enough to

> enjoy a game of belief and unbelief. He reproved his pupil once for an admiring allusion to the author of *The Triumphant Beast*.
>
> — You know, he said, the writer, Bruno, was a terrible heretic.
>
> — Yes, said Stephen, and he was terribly burned.
>
> But the teacher was a poor inquisitor. (*SH* 174-75)

In the truncated form of this scene that appears in the final diary entries in *A Portrait* "little round-head rogue's eye Ghezzi" (*P* 271) is presented with equal sympathy by Joyce. Although Ghezzi initially admonishes Stephen for his championing of the "terrible heretic" Stephen records that he finally agrees with his wry observation that Bruno was "terribly burned [...] with some sorrow". (*P* 271)

The corrupted reference to Bruno's 1584 Italian dialogue *Lo Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* (*The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*) in this passage, does give an indication of at least one of the works with which Joyce was familiar during this period. In *My Brother's Keeper* Stanislaus confirms that Joyce was reading Bruno's "philosophical essays" at this time, and observes that his growing admiration for Bruno influenced his decision to choose Gordon Brown as a stage name (*MBK* 132). There exist no further overt references to any of Bruno's individual works in either Joyce's writings or in the extant biographical material. However, it is perhaps safe to assume that Joyce's knowledge of Bruno's writings did not, at this time, extend beyond the Italian ethical dialogues that were written in London between 1584 and 1585. Joyce's reference to *Lo Spaccio* has been noted. In *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt*, Jean-Michel Rabaté is insistent that Joyce was familiar with *La Cena de le ceneri* (*The*

Ash Wednesday Supper), though he offers no evidence for such a claim.[63] Furthermore, in *The Consciousness of Joyce* Ellmann has noted that a 1906 edition of Bruno's *De gli eroici furori* (*The Heroic Frenzies*) was among the books that Joyce left behind in Trieste when he moved to Paris in 1920, and that this book was obtained during his lengthy sojourn in that city.[64] In *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, Gose, in his attempt to verify the extent to which Joyce knew and understood Bruno's work, also draws attention to Stanislaus Joyce's observation concerning his brother's reading of the Nolan's "philosophical essays", and the reference to Bruno at the end of *A Portrait*. However, he fails to note the explicit reference to *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* in the abandoned draft of *A Portrait*, *Stephen Hero*. He states confidently that Joyce did in fact "read Bruno's Italian dialogues while at University."[65] And in his attempt to demonstrate the importance of Bruno's pantheistic conception of the universe, in which nature is seen as the divine in a process of transformation, as a mode of vision for Joyce during the composition of *Ulysses*, Gose does make reference to all of the Italian dialogues, and extends his discussion to also include *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo (The Cabala of the Horse Pegasus)*, *De la causa principio (Cause, Principle and Unity)*, and *De l'infinito universo e mondi (On the Infinite Universe and Worlds)*.

It is well known that Joyce was a frequent reader at the National Library of Ireland on Kildare Street, which was near to the University College buildings situated on Stephen's Green. I have consulted the catalogues of the National

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[63] Jean-Michel Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 8-9.

[64] See Richard Ellmann, 'Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), p. 103. There is a cryptic reference to *De gli eroici furori* in *Finnegans Wake*: "I am not hereby giving my final endorsement to the learned ignorants of the

Library and can confirm that there was a considerable collection of works by, and relating to, Bruno that would have been available to Joyce during his time at University College. The majority of the National Library's holdings of the editions of Bruno's writings, and the biographical studies, are listed as having been catalogued from the late 1880s onwards, and thus the collection reflects the growth in Brunonian studies in Europe during this period. One can only speculate that Joyce sat in the reading room of the National Library, which he evokes so memorably in Chapter 5 of *A Portrait*, and in 'Scylla and Charybdis' in *Ulysses*, and read the holdings on Bruno. I would argue that an exact knowledge of the writings by, and concerning, Bruno in the National Library is of significant interest for the critic of Joyce's initial encounter with Bruno. As I have noted, the observation that Joyce first read Bruno as a student is a mainstay of Joycean criticism. However, there has been no attempt to ascertain which of Bruno's "philosophical essays" he had actually studied. An awareness of the National Library's holdings on Bruno will not provide incontestable evidence of which of Bruno's writings Joyce had read, but it does suggest a point of departure for a discussion of Joyce's youthful encounter with the Nolan. Furthermore, if one is cognisant of the Brunonian critical and biographical material that would have been available during the 1900s in the National Library, it is possible to suggest the critical construction of Bruno that Joyce would have encountered, and the extent to which that critical production was influenced by the Bruno legend of anticlericalist discourse during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Cusanus philosophism [...] And I shall be misunderstood if understood to give an unconditional sinequam to the heroicised furibouts of the Nolanus theory" (*FW* 163.15-17, 22-24).

[65] Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 3.

By 1900 the National Library possessed copies of the editions of the Latin and Italian works of Bruno that had been published under the respective direction of Francesco Fiorentino and Paolo de Lagarde. The only English translation of Bruno's writings in the library's collection at this time was L. Williams's 1887 translation of *De gli eroici furori*, *The Heroic Enthusiasts*.[66] Among the biographical and critical scholarship on Bruno were Domenico Berti's *La vita di Giordano da Nola* of 1880, and I. Frith's 1887 *The Life of Giordano Bruno, the Nolan*.[67] It has long been recognised that Joyce was familiar with Frith's study of Bruno. In their footnotes to *The Day of the Rabblement* in *The Critical Writings*, Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann suggest that the famous quotation that Joyce attributes to "the Nolan" in the first sentence of that pamphlet, "No man [...] can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude" (*CW* 69), is probably borrowed from Frith's study. Frith quotes Bruno as writing: "No man truly loves goodness and truth who is not incensed with the multitude" (*CW* 69). As Paul-Henri Michel has noted in *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, the scholarly rehabilitation of Bruno during the latter part of the nineteenth century was distinguished by its relatively impartial appraisal of the life and work of Bruno. If Joyce did indeed consult the work of Berti and Frith at the National Library it can be suggested that he was primarily conscious of Bruno as a neglected philosopher of the early modern period, and if, as I will later argue, he invokes aspects of the Bruno legend from anticlericalist discourse, it is as a deliberate engagement with the Church of his upbringing and education. As I have noted, McIntyre's 1903 English-language study of Bruno is heavily indebted to the pioneering biographical work undertaken by Berti, and

[66] Giordano Bruno, *The Heroic Enthusiasts*, trans. L. Williams (London: G. Redway, 1887).

presumably reflects the tenor of the Italian scholar's writings on the Nolan. Although the greater proportion of McIntyre's *Giordano Bruno* is devoted to providing an introduction to the philosophical writings of Bruno, a third of the book is devoted to Bruno's biography. A full précis of McIntyre's biographical study of Bruno is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it should be noted that while his account is free of an anticlericalist accent, in recounting how an errant Dominican friar wandered across half of Europe attacking contemporary social and religious institutions with a "skilful pen and [a] biting tongue",[68] and who was betrayed into the hands of the Inquisition, he does construct a life that is both tragic and exemplary. As I have noted, Joyce reviewed McIntyre's study of Bruno for the Dublin *Daily Express* in October 1903. In *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* has written of Joyce's review of McIntyre's *Giordano Bruno*: "Although he is putting Bruno's case here, we can appreciate what the Italian philosopher must have meant to someone who opted out of the Church and could not accept the spiritual theosophy of the respectable literary establishment as an alternative to Catholicism."[69]

In '*Lyceum*: An Early Resource for Joyce', an article that appeared in the *James Joyce Quarterly* in 1984, Bonnie Kime Scott suggests another context in which Joyce may have encountered Bruno. *Lyceum* was a University College publication founded by Father Tom Finlay, which was published monthly from 1887 to 1894. Kime Scott concedes that "it cannot be established that Joyce also read this periodical."[70] However, she notes that Joyce's close friend C. P. Curran

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[67] I. Frith, *The Life of Giordano Bruno, the Nolan*, revised by Moritz Carrière (London: Trübner and Co., 1887).
[68] McIntyre, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 89.
[69] Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 24.
[70] Bonnie Kime Scott, '*Lyceum*: An Early Resource for Joyce', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 22:1 (Fall 1984), p. 78.

had read back-issues of *Lyceum* as part of his own intellectual development, and suggests that it is possible that Joyce had done likewise. She also argues that the periodical remains of interest for Joycean scholars as it reflected the official ethos of the Jesuit-administered University College down to Joyce's own era at the college. According to Curran, the aim of *Lyceum* was "to promote a Catholic solution of the educational and social problems which were pressing themselves, at home and abroad, on public attention"; and, he also observed that the periodical possessed an "air of currule authority."[71] As I argued in Chapter 1, the Catholic Church during the period in which Joyce was born, educated, and grew to maturity, regarded contemporary culture as deeply in error of the precepts of Mother Church, and on all matters theological, social and political was unremittingly conservative. *Lyceum* reflected the tenor of such a conservative discursive environment. In September 1889 there appeared an anonymous article on Bruno: 'Giordano Bruno and United Italy'.[72] The article, which contains a biographical account of Bruno, was written in response to the political oratory that had accompanied the dedication of the monument to Bruno at the Campo dei Fiori in February 1889. As I have noted, Leo XIII condemned this act, and the writer for *Lyceum* repeated the orthodox Catholic condemnation of Bruno, and expressed similar contempt for the contemporary lionization of Bruno in Italy. Although Joyce was later to express a degree of cynicism at the anticlericalist appropriation of Bruno, one can suggest that it is possible that Joyce had perused back-issues of *Lyceum*, and realised a strong affinity with a figure still capable of eliciting black ink from the forces of Catholic reaction and orthodoxy.

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[71] Constantine P. Curran, *Under the Receding Wave* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970), pp. 76-79; cited ibid, p. 78.

[72] 'Giordano Bruno and United Italy', *Lyceum*, 3, 25 (September 1889), pp. 7-10; cited ibid, p. 81.

There is also a literary context for Joyce's encounter with Bruno. There was a coterie interest in Bruno in English literary culture during the 1890s, of which Walter Pater's 'Giordano Bruno' was the most expansive and prominent example. As Jean-Michel Rabaté has noted in *Joyce Upon the Void*:

> In fact, if Joyce may well have come across Bruno during the Italian lessons he took with Father Ghezzi, he may also have heard of the Italian philosopher through a writer who was one of his literary models, Walter Pater. While in Trieste, Joyce owned only *Marius the Epicurean* and *The Renaissance*, but he had probably read Pater's last book, *Gaston de Latour*, or at any rate the last chapter of this unfinished novel, which had been published under the title of 'Giordano Bruno' in the issue of August 1889 of the well-regarded *Fortnightly Review*.[73]

If Joyce had not read Pater's chapter on Bruno in the August 1889 issue of *The Fortnightly Review*, it is conceivable that he was aware of the 1902 edition of *Gaston de Latour*, which was prepared posthumously for publication by Charles L. Shadwell (the chapter concerning Gaston's encounter with Bruno is entitled 'The Lower Pantheism'.)[74] An awareness of the particular constructions of Bruno's life that Joyce may have encountered is of as much significance as an understanding of the degree to which he understood and incorporated Bruno's thought into his own personal philosophy. In Pater's unfinished *Bildungsroman*,

[73] Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void*, pp. 13-14.

Bruno is among three figures who define the three stages of Gaston's progress as he ventures to be an artist at the courts of Kings Charles IX and Henry III of France. As Rabaté has noted, Pierre de Ronsard "stands for youthful lyricism; Montaigne [...] introduces the hero to scepticism; and finally Bruno [...] reconciles all the contradictions between poetry and ethics."[75]

Although an extensive appraisal of Pater's 'Giordano Bruno' is beyond the scope of this chapter, there are a number of aspects of this work which are worthy of note. In *Gaston de Latour* Pater gives an extremely concise account of Bruno's philosophy and cosmology. Pater describes how Bruno, the "knight-errant of intellectual light",[76] imagined an infinite universe of infinite worlds, created by God in a spirit of indifference, in which there is no differentiation between matter and substance, and no hierarchy of spheres separating a fallen world from its transcendent Creator. In this pantheistic conception of the universe God is immanent in nature, and all contraries coincide: the "consciousness, the person, of God the Spirit, [...] was at every moment of infinite time, in every atom, at every point of infinite space."[77] For Bruno, the mind that is capable of beholding God and nature as One becomes part of the cyclical and infinite process of creation. As Joyce wrote in 'The Bruno Philosophy':

> It is not Spinoza, it is Bruno, that is the god-intoxicated man. Inwards from the material universe, which, however, did not seem to him, as to the Neoplatonists the kingdom of the soul's malady,

[74] Walter Pater, *Gaston de Latour: An Unfinished Romance*, ed. Charles L. Shadwell (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902).
[75] Rabaté, *Joyce Upon Void*, p. 14.
[76] Pater, *Gaston de Latour*, p. 154.

> or as to the Christians a place of probation, but rather his opportunity for spiritual activity, he passes, and from heroic enthusiasm to enthusiasm to unite himself with God. (*CW* 134).

In *Joyce Upon the Void*, Rabaté is keen to suggest that Pater's elaboration of Bruno's pantheism, and his conception of creation as a cyclical process (which Rabaté argues is redolent of Vico's philosophy of cyclical return),[78] may have contributed to Joyce's linguistic *tour de force* in *Finnegans Wake*:

> Nature has become language. Ontological and cosmological relativity have been turned into textual indeterminacy. Therefore the sense of cosmological 'indifference' is entirely necessary to create, by a strange twist, a new language in which one observes a multiplication of semantic 'differences'.[79]

Rabaté also suggests that the textual indeterminacy of the *Wake*, in which, as Beckett states, "form *is* content, content *is* form,"[80] that mirrors an infinite universe created in a spirit of indifference, is made possible only after the creation of the 'indifferent' and 'contradictory' characters of Stephen Dedalus and Molly Bloom in *Ulysses*.[81] I will discuss the manner in which the contrary consciousnesses of Stephen and Molly contest and realise an immanentist mode of vision in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

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[77] Ibid, p. 141.
[78] See Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void*, pp. 16-17.
[79] Ibid, p. 17.
[80] Beckett, 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce', *Our Exagmination Round His Factification For Incamination Of Work in Progress*, p. 14.
[81] Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void*, p. 17.

Rabaté's study is primarily concerned with tracing the development of philosophical doubt in Joyce, and the realisation of a poetics of indeterminacy. As such, *Joyce Upon the Void* is more concerned with *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. In his introduction Rabaté argues, "I still believe today that any reading of the earlier texts which ignores *Finnegans Wake* is biased or off-balance."[82] He states that a retrospective reading of Joyce's writings, rather than being a "methodological mistake", proved to be crucial in his "discovery of Joyce's textual strategies."[83] However, I would suggest, in this instance, that Rabaté's insistence on appraising Joyce's youthful intellectual and literary negotiations solely in terms of the textual innovations Joyce achieved in the 1920s and 1930s does overlook, or obscure, certain aspects of the production of Joyce's texts during the 1900s. As I have noted, Rabaté is extremely concise in his discussion of what Joyce may have gleaned from reading Pater's *Gaston de Latour*, and how this relates to his thesis on the genesis of doubt in Joyce's writings. Nevertheless, in his concern to relate Pater's elaboration of Bruno's pantheism to the linguistic strategies of the *Wake*, he fails to register the parallels that can be discerned between the characters of Gaston and Stephen, in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, and the similarity of the manner in which they respond to "the 'prodigal son' of Dominic."[84] This observation may lack the intellectual scope and nimbleness of Rabaté's thesis; however, I would suggest that such a question is of significance.

Both Gaston and Stephen search for an exemplary figure within the interstices of ecclesiastical history, whose mysticism might provide a more sustaining model of spiritual expression than that proffered by orthodox

[82] Ibid, p. xii.
[83] Ibid, p. xii.

Catholicism. In *Stephen Hero*, Stephen discovers the obscure Marsh Library during his wanderings in "the midst of those sluttish streets which are called old Dublin." (*SH* 181) He is introduced to the hidden recesses of the library, to its "nooks and niches", by the librarian and is interested briefly in the writers of the Trecento: "He appreciated not without pitiful feelings the legend of the mild heresiarch of Assisi." (*SH* 181) Through a chance discovery of W. B. Yeats's *The Tablets of the Law*, in a bookshop on the Quays, Stephen becomes enchanted with the prophecies of "Joachim, Abbot of Flora." (*SH* 182) Stephen's interest in "his Franciscan studies" (*SH* 182) briefly allays his spiritual restlessness, and temporarily postpones his departure from the Church. I would suggest that his subsequent determination to follow the "life of an errant" who refuses to accept "the tyranny of the mediocre", signifies his determination to pursue a mode of existence as sanctioned by Bruno. In *Gaston de Latour* Gaston encounters Bruno at the court of King Henry III, and is inspired by Bruno's disclosure that a pursuit of the contemplative life of a monastic need not signify a cloistered mind that is enervated by the narrow intellectualism and dogmatism of contemporary Catholicism:

> Bruno himself tells us, long after he had withdrawn himself from it, that the monastic life promotes the freedom of the intellect by its silence and self-concentration. The prospect of such freedom sufficiently explains why a young man, however well-found in worldly and personal advantages, was above all conscious of great intellectual possessions, and of fastidious spirit also, with a

[84] Pater, *Gaston de Latour*, p. 152.

> remarkable distaste for the vulgar, should have espoused poverty, chastity, and obedience, in a Dominican cloister. What liberty of mind can really come to, in such places, what daring new departures it may suggest even to the strictly monastic temper, is exemplified by the dubious and dangerous mysticism of men like John of Parma and Joachim of Flora, reputed author of a new 'Everlasting Gospel'; strange dreamers, in a world of sanctified rhetoric, of that later dispensation of the Spirit, in which all law will have passed away; or again by a recognised tendency, in the great rival Order of Saint Francis, in the so-called 'spiritual' Franciscans, to understand the dogmatic words of faith, *with a difference*.[85]

I would suggest that this passage illustrates that there are undeniable echoes of Pater's *Gaston de Latour* in Joyce's *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait.*

In 'On Giordano Bruno, Wilde and Yeats' W. Schrick argues that the revival of artistic interest in Bruno in English literary culture during the 1890s was probably a result of the publication of Pater's article on Bruno in *The Fortnightly Review* in 1889. However, for the aesthetes and artists of English literary culture of the 1890s, who, unlike Joyce, experienced Christianity as a faltering grand narrative, and not as a repressive material institution which exerted considerable social and psychological pressure on the individual subject, interest in Bruno is primarily restricted to their development of a symbolist poetics. Bruno is not perceived as an heretical *auctoritas*; and his pursuit of his

[85] Ibid, pp. 139-140.

idiosyncratic and cabbalistic cosmology and philosophy is not seen in the context of his tragic struggle with contemporary Catholicism. Schrick's article is concerned with demonstrating that the appearance of the doctrine of *Anima Mundi* in the thinking of Oscar Wilde and W. B. Yeats is neither coincidental, nor attributable solely to the interest in Platonism and Neoplatonism amongst the aesthetes of the 1890s. He argues that the revival of interest in the doctrine of *Anima Mundi* in the writings of Wilde and Yeats, is "partly traceable to Giordano Bruno",[86] and the renewed interest in him during the 1890s. Schrick observes that although interest in Bruno remained a coterie one, it is still an interest that has been overlooked by literary historians of that decade:

> The name of Bruno does not appear frequently in indexes of scholarly accounts dealing with literary output of the Nineties in England. And yet he seems to have been accorded more attention by artists of the time than the compilers of indexes have been able to indicate.[87]

As I have noted, Schrick argues that real artistic interest in Bruno was probably occasioned by the publication of Pater's 'Giordano Bruno' in 1889. He also notes the publication of L. Williams's 1887 translation of the 1585 dialogue *De gli eroici furori*, *The Heroic Enthusiasts*. For the second part of Williams's translation, which appeared in 1889, the publishing rights were transferred from George Redway to the more eminent publisher, Bernard Quattrich. Schrick

[86] Schrick, 'On Giordano Bruno, Wilde and Yeats', p. 257.
[87] Ibid, p. 258.

suggests that this would seem to indicate that Bruno's prestige had grown during this period.[88]

Schrick notes a reference to Bruno in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, first published in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, in July 1890.[89] The name of Giordano Bruno is mentioned towards the end of Chapter 4, and occurs in a passage in which Lord Henry Wotton muses on the inseparability of the spiritual and the corporeal:

> Soul and body, body and soul – how mysterious they were! There was animalism in the soul and the body had its moments of spirituality. The senses could refine, and the intellect could degrade. Who could say where the fleshy impulse ceased, or the physical impulse began? How shallow were the arbitrary definitions of ordinary psychologists! And yet how difficult to decide between the claims of the various schools! Was the soul a shadow seated in the house of sin? Or was the body really in the soul, as Giordano Bruno thought? The separation of spirit from matter was a mystery, and the union of spirit with matter was a mystery also.[90]

Schrick speculates that Wilde's interest in Bruno was stimulated by his reading of J. A. Symonds's *Renaissance in Italy* that was published in 1886. Wilde wrote an enthusiastic review of volumes VI and VII of this study in the *Pall Mall*

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[88] See ibid, 258.
[89] Ibid, p. 259.
[90] Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 67-8.

Gazette in November 1886. He drew attention to the chapter on Bruno as among the most interesting of the book, and wrote:

> Indeed the story of Bruno's life, from his visit to London and Oxford, his sojourn in Paris and wanderings through Germany, down to his betrayal at Venice and martyrdom at Rome, is most powerfully told, and the estimate of the value of his philosophy and the relation he holds to modern science, is at once just and appreciative.[91]

One can only speculate that Joyce was familiar with Symonds's study; however, *Renaissance in Italy* was among the National Library holdings during this period. It is unclear when Joyce first read *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, but it would appear that it was not during his years as an undergraduate. In a letter to Stanislaus in August 1906, he records that he was reading the novel in Italian (*Letters II* 149). In his subsequent comments to Stanislaus on *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Wilde's reference to Bruno does not elicit any comment (*Letters II* 150).

Schrick states that there is no direct evidence of Yeats's acquaintance with Bruno in his published writings. However, he observes that there is a similarity between the description of the soul as "self-delighting, / Self-appeasing, self-affrighting,"[92] in Yeats's 'A Prayer for my Daughter', and a line in Pater's *Gaston de Latour* in which the soul, "Delighting in itself, in the sense

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[91] Oscar Wilde, 'Mr Symonds' History of the Renaissance', *Reviews*, ed. R. Ross (London, 1908), p. 107; cited ibid, p. 260.
[92] W. B. Yeats, 'A Prayer for my Daughter', *Yeats's Poems*, ed. A. Norman Jeffares (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 297.

of its own energy, this sleepless, capacious, fiery intelligence, evokes all the orders of nature, all the revolutions of history, cycle upon cycle, in every new type."[93] He acknowledges that the appearance of this resonance in a poem that was first published in 1921, in *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*, is at quite a remove from the literary interest in Bruno in the 1890s. However, he does qualify his observation with a reference in Yeats's correspondence that does suggest that Yeats was familiar with Bruno during that period:

> It remains to pursue the implications of a reference in one of Yeats's letters which has hitherto escaped attention. Writing from Thornhill, Sligo, on 26 December 1894, to his sister Lily, Yeats asks her: "Is there a book called *The Heroick Enthusiasts* lying about belonging to York Powell? I cannot remember if I took it back to Dublin. If I did not you might send it to me". Allan Wade, the editor of the letters, has left the reference to the title unexplained but there is not the least doubt that Williams's translation of Bruno is meant.[94]

An acknowledgement of the fact that Wilde and Yeats responded to the thought of Bruno, and a discussion of the circumstances in which they probably encountered that thought, does not necessarily enhance an appraisal of the nature of Joyce's encounter with Bruno. However, as Schrick argues, the appearance of the name Giordano Bruno, and the traces of his cabbalistic philosophy, in the writings of Pater, Wilde, and Yeats, does suggest that Bruno was a presence in

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[93] Pater, *Gaston de Latour*, p. 142.
[94] Schrick, 'On Giordano Bruno, Wilde and Yeats', pp. 262-3.

English literary culture of the 1890s. Although such a presence is vestigial, it does provide a context in which Joyce's discovery of his "unexpected master" can be understood.

There is one possible source from which Yeats may have encountered Bruno, and which Schrick does not consider. It is a staple of Yeatsian criticism that Yeats maintained an interest in the occult, Hermeticism and in theosophy. The esoteric movement of theosophy was founded by Madame H. P. Blavatsky whose two-volume work, *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, first published in New York in 1877, was a significant reference book for those interested in the occult during the 1890s. As Ellmann has observed in *Yeats: The Man and the Masks*, this work "asserted the similarity in fundamental belief of all religions, and attributed it to the existence of a secret doctrine which was their common parent."[95] In *W. B. Yeats: A Life*, Stephen Coote notes that Yeats, along with George Russell (A.E.), was a member of the Dublin Hermetic Society and the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society, occult organisations in which Blavatsky's text was a key source of reference.[96] There are several references to Bruno in this influential text. In *Isis Unveiled* Blavatsky, in her discussion of the lotus flower as the "product of fire (heat) and water, hence the dual symbol of spirit and matter", argues that Bruno "was slaughtered for the exegesis of a symbol that was adopted by the earliest Christians, and expounded by the apostles!"[97] Blavatsky's text appeared over a decade before McIntyre's study of the life and work of Bruno, she discusses the similarity of the thought of Bruno and Spinoza:

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[95] Richard Ellmann, *Yeats: The Man and the Masks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 59.
[96] See Stephen Coote, *W. B. Yeats: A Life* (London: Sceptre, 1997), p. 42, p. 83.
[97] H. P. Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science*

> Bruno and Spinoza's doctrines are nearly identical, though the words of the latter are more veiled, and far more cautiously that those to be found in the theories of the author of the *Cause Principio et Uno*, or the *Infinito Universo e mundo*. Both Bruno, who confesses that the source of his information was Pythagoras, and Spinoza, who, without acknowledging it as frankly, allows the philosophy to betray the secret, view the First Cause from the same stand-point. With them God is an Entity totally *per se*, an Infinite Spirit, and the only Being utterly free and independent of either effects or causes; who, through that same Will which produced all things and gave the first impulse to every cosmic law, perpetually keeps in existence and order everything in the universe. As well as the Hindu Swâbhâvikas, erroneously called Atheists, who assume that all things, men as well as gods and spirits, were born from Swabhâva, or their own nature, both Spinoza and Bruno were led to the conclusion that *God is to be sought for within nature and not without*. For, creation, being proportional to the power of the Creator, the universe as its Creator must be infinite and eternal, one form emanating from its own essence, and creating in turn another.[98]

Joyce was certainly also familiar with this text, and makes several mocking references to the interest in Hermeticism in *Ulysses*, particularly in 'Scylla and

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and Theology, Vol. I (London and Benares: The Theosophical Society, 1910), p. 93.
[98] Ibid, pp. 93-94.

Charybdis'. A full account of Joyce's interest in Hermeticism is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, in 'Transformatio Coniunctionis: Alchemy in *Ulysses*' in *Joyce's 'Ulysses': The Larger Perspective* Robert D. Newman notes: "Joyce encouraged Stuart Gilbert to read Madame Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* and his library contained other works by theosophists."[99] He also argues: "Despite the Aristotelian bias of his Jesuit training, there was something about Hermeticism that appealed to Joyce and that persists as an undercurrent in his works, particularly in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*."[100]

One figure omitted from Schrick's account of literary engagements with Bruno in the late nineteenth century is Algernon Charles Swinburne. In June 1889 Swinburne wrote an ode commemorating the dedication of the statue of Bruno at the Campo dei Fiori. Swinburne's 'The Monument of Giordano Bruno' is a relatively crude anticlericalist text. However, it is of interest as an example of the manner in which the Bruno legend of anticlericalist discourse was reproduced in literary culture during the 1880s. Swinburne was an intemperate critic of organised religion, especially of the Roman Catholic Church, and his atheism was an intrinsic dimension of his concern with political radicalism. He had met his youthful hero Giuseppe Mazzini in London in 1867,[101] and was greatly interested in the Risorgimento. Two of his collections, *Songs Before Sunrise* (1871) and *Songs of Two Nations* (1871), are concerned with the prospect of Italian freedom, and he was deeply critical of the Roman Catholic Church for its political role in a divided Italy. In 'The Monument of Giordano

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[99] Robert D. Newman, 'Transformatio Coniunctionis: Alachemy in *Ulysses*', *Joyce's 'Ulysses': The Larger Perspective*, eds. Robert D. Newman and Weldon Thornton (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987), p. 169.
[100] Ibid, p. 168.
[101] See Philip Henderson, *Swinburne: The Portrait of a Poet* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 137-39.

Bruno' Swinburne seemingly fulfils Mazzini's exhortation that he "insult, brand the cowards, hail the martyrs,"[102] and is unrelenting in his castigation of the Church's legacy in the Italian peninsula. However, as an example of imaginative literature 'The Monument of Giordano Bruno' never rises above the level of anticlericalist rhetoric and propaganda. Swinburne imagines Bruno's rehabilitation as a potent symbol of Rome's liberation from the authoritarian Vatican States:

> Cover thine eyes and weep, O child of hell,
> Grey spouse of Satan, Church of name abhorred.
> Weep withered harlot, with thy weeping lord,
> Now none will buy the heaven thou hast to sell
> At price of prostituted souls, and swell
> Thy loveless list of flowers. Fire and sword
> No more are thine: the steel, the wheel, the cord,
> The flames that rose round living limbs, and fell
> In lifeless ash and ember, now no more
> Approve thee godlike. Rome, redeemed at last
> From all the red pollution of thy past,
> Acclaims the grave bright face that smiled of yore
> Even as the fire that caught it round and clomb
> To cast its ashes on the face of Rome.[103]

[102] From a letter from Mazzini to Swinburne, 10 March 1867; cited ibid, p. 137.
[103] Algernon Charles Swinburne, 'The Monument of Giordano Bruno', *The Poems: A Midsummer Holiday, Astrophel, A Channel Passage and Other Poems*, Vol. VI (London: Chatto & Windus, 1904), pp. 243-244.

Whether or not Joyce was familiar with Swinburne's 'The Monument of Giordano Bruno' is a matter of conjecture. Although Ellmann has noted that Joyce was in possession of Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon and Lyrical Poems* during his period in Trieste,[104] there is little evidence in Joyce's writings and correspondence that might indicate the exact extent of his knowledge of Swinburne's work. However, it can be inferred from those references that do exist in the letters and writings that Joyce had neither sympathy for Swinburne's poetry nor his self-consciously latter-day Romantic posturing. In a letter that Joyce wrote to his mother a few months after his arrival in Paris in December 1902, he recounts the meeting that he had had with Yeats shortly before he left for the continent, and discloses an unmitigated contempt for Swinburne. He takes considerable relish in recalling how he had "roared laughing at the mention of Balzac, Swinburne & c." (*Letters II* 38) Joyce's most famous reference to Swinburne occurs in 'Telemachus' in *Ulysses* when Mulligan quietly asks Stephen on the roof of the Martello tower: "Isn't the sea what Algy calls it: a great sweet mother?" (*U* 5)[105] Joyce's distaste for Swinburne's verse and his posturing was to be heightened as a result of the enmity that was to develop between himself and Oliver St. John Gogarty. As Ellmann notes in *James Joyce*, during his brief and troubled residence in the Martello tower in Sandycove in September 1904 with Gogarty and Samuel Chenevix Trench, the individuals upon whom the fictional characters of Buck Mulligan and the Englishman Haines are based, Gogarty decreed that "Nietzsche was the principal prophet, Swinburne the tower laureate." (*JJ* 172) Furthermore, "Gogarty had informed

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[104] Ellmann, 'Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920', *The Consciousness of Joyce*, p. 129.

[105] In her excellent annotations to 1993 Oxford University Press edition of the 1922 text of *Ulysses*, Jeri Johnson notes that this line occurs in the poem 'The Triumph of Time' (1866). See James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ed. Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 769n.

his friend Bell of the plan, which was for Joyce to do the housekeeping and to play Watts-Dunton to his Swinburne." (*JJ* 173) Watts-Dunton famously saved the dissolute Swinburne from his alcoholism. I will discuss the antagonistic relationship between Stephen Dedalus and Buck Mulligan at greater length in the course of this thesis. However, it is worth noting at this juncture that the identification of Mulligan with Swinburne emphasises the tensions between him and Stephen. Mulligan is the "Usurper" (*U* 1:744) who engages in effortless and shallow blasphemy for the sake of notoriety, and Stephen is the guilt-ridden apostate struggling to extricate himself from the psychologically crippling claims of his faith. It is unlikely that Joyce would have responded with any enthusiasm to the anticlericalist rhetoric of a Victorian poet of an aristocratic High Anglican background. However, 'The Monument of Giordano Bruno' is of some interest as a solitary example of an anticlericalist appropriation of Bruno in English literary culture during the late nineteenth century.[106]

IV: Conclusion

In this chapter I have been concerned with exploring the possible contexts and circumstances in which Joyce may have first encountered his "unexpected master." It has long been a mainstay of Joycean scholarship that Joyce first read the works of Bruno in 1900 while he was an undergraduate at University College, Dublin, and that it was in the context of the Italian course he followed

[106] It is extremely interesting to note that there was interest in Giordano Bruno in Germany at the-turn-of-the-century, and thus is contemporaneous with Joyce's initial encounter with the Nolan. This interest was among societies of Monists in Berlin who, like Joyce, were also interested in the work of Henrik Ibsen. There were actually 'Giordano Bruno Societies' ('Giordan-Bruno-Bundes') in Berlin, and in 1902 a tragedy of Bruno's life written by Otto Borngräber, entitled

with Father Charles Ghezzi. However, there has never been any substantial attempt to foreground this observation with a more discriminating contextual examination. Again, such a degree of contextualisation may appear to be critical "book-keeping" at its most pedantic, but I would argue that it is entirely necessary. There is no study of Joyce and Bruno that is even remotely commensurate with Noon's scrupulous examination of Joyce's relationship with Aquinas: *Joyce and Aquinas*. There has been little or no real attempt to ascertain which of Bruno's writings it is possible that Joyce could have read, or any speculation as to the availability of those writings in Dublin at this time. Furthermore, there has been neither any substantial attempt to discuss the nature of the Nolan's reputation at the turn-of-the-century, nor any great consideration of the interest in Bruno in English literary culture during the late-nineteenth century. I have attempted to demonstrate that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Joyce would have had access to a relatively significant collection on Bruno at the National Library of Ireland, though I believe it is unlikely that his textual knowledge extended beyond the ethical Italian dialogues *Lo Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, *La Cena de la ceneri*, *De la causa principio* and possibly *De gli eroici furori*. I would also suggest that Joyce was cognisant of Bruno's anathematised reputation among the forces of Catholic orthodoxy, and aware of the manner in which he had been appropriated in the discursive struggles of anticlericalism in Italy during the late nineteenth century. I have also attempted to demonstrate that there is a literary context for Joyce's engagement with Bruno, although it is worth noting that Gose has argued that Bruno, like Giambattista Vico, was "little known in the English-speaking world" during the early years of

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Giordano Bruno: Das Neue Jahrhundert, was performed. See *Berlin Um 1900*, eds. Janos Frecot and Eberhard Roters (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1984), p. 377, p. 383.

the twentieth century.[107] With the exception of Swinburne's 'The Monument of Giordano Bruno', fascination with Bruno in English literary culture during the 1880s and 1890s is primarily concerned with an interest in Platonism and Neoplatonism and the development of a symbolist poetics. However, in these latter references to Bruno there is access to an understanding of the Nolan's pantheistic philosophy.

[107] Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. xii.

Chapter Three:

'The Nolan': The Discursive Environment of University College, Dublin, and James Joyce's Employment of the Heretical *Auctoritas* of Giordano Bruno in his Attack on the Irish Literary Theatre in *The Day of the Rabblement.*

I: Introduction.

> No man, said the Nolan, can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude; and the artist, though he may employ the crowd, is very careful to isolate himself. This radical principle of artistic economy applies specially to a time of crisis, and today the highest form of art has been preserved by desperate sacrifices, it is strange to see the artist making terms with the rabblement. (*CW* 69)

The textual moment in which, in the words of Jean-Michel Rabaté, Joyce first brought "Bruno's covert authority to bear on a precise diagnosis of Irish paralysis"[1] occurred in November 1901 with the publication of his acerbic pamphlet, *The Day of the Rabblement.* The provenance of *The Day of the Rabblement* and the exact identity of the cryptic "Nolan" has long been known. However, in this chapter I wish to discuss the manner in which this article can be seen as the first of the belligerent sorties that Joyce wrote in his "open war" (*Letters II* 48) against the Roman Catholic Church and the pervasive and paralysing influence of the bourgeois Catholic morality that it helped to maintain in the contemporary cultural and intellectual life of Dublin. I would also like to give greater consideration to Joyce's covert employment of Bruno as an heretical *auctoritas* in *The Day of the Rabblement* than it has hitherto received in Joycean criticism. I would suggest that a thorough examination of the manner in which

[1] Jean-Michel Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 10.

Joyce engages with Bruno's Italian dialogues in *The Day of the Rabblement* is a necessary prelude to an examination of the significance of heresy in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, and how this relates to how Joyce conceptualised his struggle with contemporary Catholicism.

As I have argued previously in this thesis, a degree of thick description is required if the discursive shock of Joyce's critical engagements with contemporary Catholicism is to be realised fully. Any discussion of the radical nature of Joyce's early "explosives" (*SH* 86) that does not take into account the discursive environment of these textual moments is necessarily incomplete. Therefore, drawing on the recent work of the historian Senia Pašeta, I will discuss the discursive atmosphere that prevailed within University College, Dublin, at the turn of the century, the extent to which this institution can be regarded as a microcosm of the intellectual and political concerns of Irish society, and the degree to which Joyce's undergraduate sorties can be regarded as a disavowal of the contemporary "social order." (*Letters II* 48)

As Stanislaus Joyce confirms in *My Brother's Keeper* (*MBK* 151), Joyce's intemperate vilification of the multitude, "the rabblement", "*la bestia trionfante*" (*CW* 70) in *The Day of the Rabblement*, and his privileging of a conception of a "Truth" (*CW* 72) that is unmediated by contemporary religious and cultural authority, owes much to his reading of Bruno's ethical Italian dialogue of 1584, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante (The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast)*. However, as I will suggest, the quotation that is cryptically attributed to "The Nolan" in the opening sentence of *The Day of the Rabblement* is probably taken from *La Cena de la ceneri (The Ash Wednesday Supper)* and not from *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*. Although it is "the Nolan" who records

the dialogue, he does not actually appear as a discursive entity in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. With specific reference to *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, also written in London in 1584, I will discuss the manner in which Bruno employs "the Nolan" as a discursive entity that parodies, subverts and masters the discourses of contemporary religious and intellectual orthodoxy and thus heretically authorises a discursive position from which he can claim to speak for "Truth". I will argue that, through an examination of the textual and rhetorical strategies that Bruno employs in his discursive assaults against religious and intellectual authority in his ethical dialogues, it is possible to gain an understanding of the manner in which Joyce critically negotiates the pervasive influence of contemporary Catholicism in his own texts. His heretical engagement with Bruno is not merely a youthful and blasphemous affront to orthodox Catholic sensibility. It is a calculated heretical alignment that signifies Joyce's profound sense of alienation from the Ultramontane and Jansenist form of Catholicism that was characteristic of the Church in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland. That is, in employing the "covert authority" of the "heresiarch martyr of Nola" Joyce is self-consciously adopting the position of the heretic, "the deviant insider."[2] He does not glory in Bruno's presumed atheism like Swinburne, and he does not discover in his obscure philosophical dialogues a source from which he can develop a symbolist poetics. Rather, in Bruno he discovers an "unexpected master", a sanction for his own attempt to realise a mode of vision and a conception of "Truth" that is neither authorised by, nor subservient to, the doctrinal pronouncements of the Church of his upbringing and education. The Church administers a faith that he believes is incapable of proffering

[2] Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 2.

philosophical certitude and that has abnegated the right to speak for "Truth" in its propagation of a narrow and puritanical morality. Like Bruno, Joyce heretically arrogates the right to challenge the dominant intellectual, religious, cultural, and literary discourses of his historical moment, and is extremely scornful of the multitude's complacent adherence to these discourses. He is unafraid of placing himself beyond the pale, or of courting anathema in his denunciation of the cultured, and the uncultured, "rabblement", and in his alignment with such writers as Bruno and D'Annunzio whose works were proscribed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Such a strategic positioning may smack of overweening hubris; however, it is a hubris that is wholly mitigated by the uncertain and peripatetic existence Joyce later endured on the continent while he attempted to forge his radical modernist aesthetic. Furthermore, I will suggest that Joyce's encounter with Bruno and his enthusiasm for the manner in which Bruno employs the "Nolan" as a subversive discursive entity in his ethical dialogues can be seen to inform the way in which Stephen is constructed as an heretical and deviant figure in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

II: The Discursive Environment of University College, Dublin, at the Turn of the Century.

The object of Joyce's criticism in *The Day of the Rabblement* is the Irish Literary Theatre and its failure, in his opinion, to create a modern dramatic tradition in Ireland. However, the pamphlet is a critical broadside that should not be distinguished from the previous papers that Joyce had written for the Literary and Historical Society of University College, and his dismay at the anti-

intellectualism of the anti-modern and Ultramontane form of Catholicism that pervaded the Jesuit-administered institution he attended between 1898 and 1902.

Under the pastorship of the Ultramontane Cardinal Paul Cullen the Irish hierarchy had dreamed of establishing a Catholic University in Ireland that would rival Trinity College, Dublin, which, with its Anglican theological school, was a bastion of Protestantism in Ireland, and a powerful symbol of Anglo-Irish privilege. It was also hoped that such an institution would emulate the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, then a leading light in the neo-Thomist revival, and would come to serve the intellectual and cultural aspirations of middle-class Catholics throughout the British Empire. In her excellent recent study *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*, Pašeta discusses the significance of the 'university question' for the Irish hierarchy:

> [...] a chance to mould the future ruling class of Ireland was at stake. It was thought vital that growing numbers of university-educated Catholics should be imbued with Catholic influence and would shun modernising tendencies, liberalism and atheism being the most feared. 'Whoever holds the education of the rising generation,' argued the Bishop of Limerick, Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, 'is the conqueror of the future.'[3]

Pašeta also notes: "Ireland benefited enormously from British interventionist policy in education; provision for Irish elementary, intermediate

[3] Senia Pašeta, *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), p. 7.

and higher education was unmatched elsewhere in the United Kingdom."[4] Although successive British administrations came to accept the denominationalisation of the elementary and intermediate education systems that had been established by acts of Parliament in 1831 and 1878, there was considerable reluctance to pass legislation that would provide for a state-endowed Catholic University. In principle the British government was not opposed to the establishment of new universities that would satisfy the demand for higher education among middle-class Irish Catholics, and the creation of the Queen's Colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast in 1845 is testament to the government's good faith on this issue. However, the government was desirous that these institutions should be as secular as possible. The Irish hierarchy was fiercely opposed to the Queen's Colleges, which it believed posed "grave and intrinsic dangers to [the] faith and morals"[5] of the laity, and the Vatican forbade ecclesiastics from accepting positions in these institutions. Without the provision of such endowment from the state the Catholic University that had been founded by the Irish hierarchy on Stephen's Green in Dublin in 1854, and placed under the rectorial guidance of Cardinal John Henry Newman, failed to flourish. The University was only saved from dissolution by the passing of the University Act (Ireland) in 1879 and, as University College, Dublin, the institution became a constituent college of the Royal University alongside the other university colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast.

The terms of the University Act of 1879 decreed that students at University College were to be examined on secular subjects alone and thus, as

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[4] Ibid, pp. 7-8. In reality large number of middle-class Catholics did attend the Queen's Colleges, in spite of ecclesiastical censure, and Joyce's own father John Stanislaus Joyce attended Queen's College Cork between 1866 and 1870 (*JJ* 14-15).

Ellmann observes in *James Joyce*, it ensured that "if students were obliged to spend much time on Catholic studies they would suffer in their marks." (*JJ* 57-58) The Act ensured that University College would never fulfil the Irish hierarchy's dream of creating an institution that would be a theological and a philosophical bulwark against the erroneous liberalism and atheism of modernity. And University College would never make an active scholarly contribution to the neo-Thomist revival and the counter-revolution in Catholic thought that Leo XIII had called for with the promulgation of *Aeterni patris* in 1879. As William T. Noon has observed in *Joyce and Aquinas*, "At no level, official or unofficial, were the Jesuits at St. Stephen's Green free to offer the traditional Jesuit program of college studies constructed around the principles of Scholastic thought."[6] Although the university never become an institution in which the theological, philosophical and the cultural assumptions and imperatives of Ultramontane Catholicism would be actively produced and reproduced, University College was an institution that was unmistakably Catholic in ethos. Ecclesiastical authority may not have had a hand in shaping the curriculum, but when the Jesuits took over the administration of the university in 1883 the Irish hierarchy held the institution in trust from the state. As Ellmann wryly notes, "the effect of having at least half the faculty in surplices was profounder that it might seem to those outside." (*JJ* 58)

If University College exuded an atmosphere of "currule authority" [7] it also, necessarily, reflected the cultural and political assumptions and aspirations

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[5] T. J. M. Elligott, *Education in Ireland* (Dublin: Dublin Institute of Public Administration, 1966), p. 137; cited in ibid, p. 8.
[6] William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 5.
[7] Constantine P. Curran, *Under the Receding Wave* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970), pp. 76-79; cited in Bonnie Kime Scott, '*Lyceum*: An Early Resource for Joyce', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 22:1 (Fall 1984), p. 78.

of the middle-class Catholic students who attended the institution. In 'A Portrait of the Artist', an unpublished essay which he wrote in January 1904, Joyce gives an extremely disparaging account of the "younglings"[8] who surround the, as yet unnamed, exemplary artist at University College:

> These young men saw in the death of a dull French novelist the hand of Emmanuel God with us; they admired Gla[d]stone, physical science and the tragedies of Shakespeare; and they believed in the adjustment of Catholic teaching to every day needs, in the Church diplomatic. In their relations among themselves and towards their superiors they displayed a nervous and (wherever there was question of authority) a very English liberalism ... Though the union of faith and fatherland was ever sacred in that world of easily inflammable enthusiasms a couplet from Davis, accusing the least docile tempers, never failed of its applause and the memory of McManus was hardly less revered that that of Cardinal Cullen. They had many reasons to respect authority; and even if a student were forbidden to go to *Othello* ("There are some coarse expressions in it" he was told) what a little cross was that? Was it not rather evidence of watchful care and interest, and were they not assured that in their future lives this care would continue, this interest be maintained? The

[8] James Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist', *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, eds. Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 61.

> exercise of authority might be sometimes (rarely) questionable, its intention, never.[9]

In this passage Joyce scarcely conceals his contempt for his fellow students, and as textual representations they appear as no more than gross caricatures. They are presented as the ignorant and credulous "rabblement", against whom, as Stanislaus Joyce writes in *The Dublin Diary*, Joyce evinced a "tiger-like, insatiable hatred."[10] They are seen to exhibit a bourgeois Catholic morality that is both crass and philistine, and are regarded as being complacently subservient to the pronouncements of the Church on almost every subject. In *James Joyce* Ellmann does provide an extensive account of the years Joyce spent as an undergraduate in University College. However, he does not make much attempt to discuss the vibrancy and assuredness of the political culture that, according to Pašeta, was characteristic of the institution at the time. He accepts Joyce's depiction of his fellow students as timorous "sycophants and hypocrites" (*SH* 146) who contributed to the intellectual paralysis of Dublin. Ellmann does not examine that political culture in the context of the wider political and cultural debates then developing in Irish society; the extent to which the parameters of those debates were deferential to the political and cultural discourses of Ultamontane Catholicism; and the manner in which Joyce's early writings can be seen to engage critically with such a discursive environment. Indeed, as Joseph Kelly argues in his recent excellent study, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon*, Ellmann's biographical and critical writings on Joyce failed to "look at Joyce's

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[9] Ibid, pp. 61-62.
[10] *The Dublin Diary of Stanislaus Joyce*, ed. George Harris Healey (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 14.

work as public utterance in an already well-defined public discourse."[11] Furthermore, he overlooked the significance of the Church as a powerful material and discursive institution against which Joyce consciously rebelled, and thus allowed some of the urgency and radicalism that was implicit in Joyce's writings to become obscured.

In *Before the Revolution* Pašeta gives an extremely detailed account of the political, cultural and religious forces that discursively conditioned the "younglings", that is, those young men of the Irish Catholic middle-classes with whom Joyce attended University College, and "whose aspirations were shattered by the revolutionary events of 1916-22."[12] I would suggest that Pašeta's excellent study is one that is indispensable for the critic concerned with ascertaining the discursive conditions of constraint in which Joyce launched the first of his "explosives". To apprehend fully the degree to which Joyce's oppositional alignment to the dominant political and cultural concerns of his fellow students can be considered in any way subversive or heretical, and not simply an instance of undergraduate hubris and bravado, it is necessary to understand the extent to which the political culture of University College can be viewed as a microcosm of contemporary Irish culture. As Pašeta observes, the names and reputations of this generation of university-educated Irish Catholics have only been remembered "through literary studies and remembrances of Joyce, rather than history texts".[13] She considers Joyce's contemporaries to be a

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[11] Joseph Kelly, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1998), p. 179.

[12] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 1. The cultural and the socio-economic imperatives of patriarchal Edwardian and Irish Catholic society inevitably meant that the gender of these "younglings" would be overwhelming male.

[13] Ibid, p. 150.

"lost generation of young and enthusiastic home rulers"[14] whose contributions to Irish political, cultural and intellectual life have largely been forgotten. Of all the middle-class Catholic students who attended University College during this period it is James Joyce, Patrick Pearse and Eamon de Valera who have "gained the greatest notoriety";[15] they were alienated from the dominant political and social aspirations of the university elite, and participated least in the vibrant political life of the college. Pašeta argues that the *fin de siècle* set of University College students should not be "viewed as a homogenous group which advocated one political or cultural agenda,"[16] and describes the institution as a "microcosm of political sentiment in Ireland, encompassing all shades of opinion from unionism to separatism."[17] Indeed, as is clearly evident in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, among the students there was considerable interest in the Gaelic League, founded by Douglas Hyde in 1893,[18] and a more peripheral interest in the separatist republicanism of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (the Fenians). However, she notes that the "most vocal and articulate student politicians supported Home Rule by constitutional means, nothwithstanding the growth in popularity of cultural nationalism and ideas of political separatism."[19] They were supporters of the Redmondite Irish Parliamentary Party, and aspired to end Anglo-Irish hegemony and take the political and intellectual lead in a Home Rule Ireland. And they pursued those professions that were available to them within the existing superstructure of the imperial British state: the Army, the Law, the Home and Indian Civil Service, and Medicine (the very institutions in which the

[14] Ibid, p. 1.
[15] Ibid, p. 150.
[16] Ibid, p. 3.
[17] Ibid, pp. 53-54.
[18] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), p. 140.
[19] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 62.

dominant discourse of British imperialism was most powerfully produced and reproduced).[20] The dramatic intervention of the First World War and the Easter Rising of 1916 changed everything, and the trajectory of Irish history was irrevocably altered. Pašeta argues that the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 and the subsequent institutionalisation of republicanism that occurred in Irish political and cultural life under Eamon de Valera, has meant that the political and cultural contribution that was made by Joyce's contemporaries between the death of Parnell and the Easter Rising has largely been forgotten.[21]

As Pašeta notes, the fervour and vibrancy of the "Cultural Revival informed the political and intellectual development of Catholic students."[22] The forum in which the students debated the most important issues of the day — "Home Rule, women's suffrage, the Irish literary revival and the role of education in Irish society"[23] — was the Literary and Historical Society of University College. The Society had been originally founded by Cardinal Newman and was resurrected in 1897 by the feminist Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, the year before Joyce entered the institution. According to Pašeta, its resurrection "heralded the dawn of a new era in the college."[24] As she notes, the debates of the Literary and Historical Society were conducted with great

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[20] Joseph Kelly has noted that the Indian Civil Service was made open to Catholics in 1855, and the Home Civil Service and Army in 1870. See *Our Joyce*, p. 16.

[21] The turbulent events of the First World War and the Easter Rising not only shattered the aspirations of this generation of university-educated Catholic students, it was also to claim the lives of some of the most gifted of Joyce's friends and contemporaries. Thomas Kettle, who would later become the Irish Parliamentary Member for East Tyrone and a professor at the National University of Ireland, was killed in action in France in 1916; Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, a dedicated feminist who appears as McCann in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, was murdered by British troops as he attempted to prevent the poor of Dublin from looting during the Easter Rising; and George Clancy, who had helped found a branch of the Gaelic League in University College and who appears as Madden and Davin in Joyce's work, was murdered by the Black and Tans during the Irish War of Independence while he was the Sinn Fein mayor of Limerick (*JJ* 60-63).

[22] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 53.

[23] Ibid, p. 66.

[24] Ibid, p. 62.

seriousness and purpose. However, in *My Brother's Keeper*, with characteristic scorn, Stanislaus Joyce describes these debates as invariably "timid or patriotic" and "almost uniformly depressing to hear." (*MBK* 124) Joyce was himself an enthusiastic participant in the debates held by the society in 1898 and 1899; he was elected to its executive office on February 1899, and read two papers before the society, 'Drama and Life' in January 1900, and 'James Clarence Mangan' in February 1902.[25] It provided a useful arena in which those students who intended to enter politics or the legal profession could hone their oratorical skills and begin to build political reputations. In 1901 a new college magazine was founded, titled *St. Stephen's*, which provided a further forum in which students could debate the social, political and cultural issues of the day. However, both the Literary and Historical Society and *St. Stephen's* were ultimately subject to the censorship of the college authorities who were determined that the society and the magazine should not become forums in which heterodox or heretical ideas might be enunciated. Joyce did encounter the censorial influence of the college president, Father William Delany, concerning his proposal to read a paper on 'Drama and Life' in January 1900, an event which is fictionalised in *Stephen Hero* and which I shall discuss at greater length in Chapter 4. However, Joyce's deliberate enunciation of "very revolutionary theories" (*SH* 99) was something of a maverick phenomenon within the institutional environs of University College. His interest in the "atheistic writers" (*SH* 96) of modern European literature was greatly at variance with the pronounced Catholicism of his fellow students who, on questions of faith and morality, deferred to the authority and guidance of the Church. In the words of Stanislaus Joyce, Joyce's

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[25] *James Joyce A to Z: The Essential Reference to His Life and Writings*, eds. A Nicholas Fargnoli and Michael Patrick Gillespie (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 136.

contemporaries at University College were invariably in full sympathy with the "ignorant obedience mixed with Puritanism, which is the Irish blend" of Catholicism (*MBK* 154).

Pašeta confirms the degree to which the cultural and political assumptions and aspirations of middle-class Catholic students were ultimately informed and circumscribed by the moral dictates of contemporary Ultramontane Catholicism:

> Despite the radical nature of some student behaviour, UCD students were, on many issues, essentially conservative. They also tended to be true to their Catholic upbringing [...] a high moral tone permeated the college.[26]

One issue upon which the majority of Joyce's contemporaries demonstrated the "essentially conservative" nature of their cultural assumptions was the subject of modern drama and the Irish Literary Theatre that was founded by Yeats and Lady Gregory in 1899. As Stanislaus Joyce notes in *My Brother's Keeper*, Joyce's passionate interest in modern drama dates from his final year at Belvedere College when he read William Archer's English translation of Henrik Ibsen's *Master Builder* (*MBK* 98-99). His discovery of the plays of the "old Master [...] [of] Christiana" (*CW* 72) is arguably the most significant of all of Joyce's youthful literary encounters. Joyce regarded Ibsen as a man of "great genius" (*CW* 48) and responded to Ibsen's drama with such an immense enthusiasm that he was later to study Dano-Norwegian in order to read Ibsen in the original (*JJ* 76). Furthermore, after writing brashly to W. L. Courtney, the

[26] Ibid, p. 73.

editor of the prestigious *Fortnightly Review*, to ask if he would like a general article on Ibsen, Joyce was invited to write a review of *When We Dead Awaken* and 'Ibsen's New Drama' appeared in April 1900 (*JJ* 71, 74). He took considerable delight in the intimate psychological exploration of modern consciousness that was effected in the plays, and greatly admired the "note of protest" (*CW* 70) that Ibsen had uttered against provincial moralism and the philistinism of contemporary bourgeois society. In *A Portrait* Stephen experiences the "spirit of Ibsen" blowing "through him like a keen wind, a spirit of wayward boyish beauty" (*P* 190); and in *Stephen Hero* Stephen's encounter with Ibsen is described as "the most enduring influence of his life." (*SH* 45) However, Joyce's fellow-students did not share this enthusiasm for Ibsen. Indeed, in February 1898 Arthur Clery delivered a paper to the Literary and Historical Society on 'The Theatre, Its Educational Value' in which he stated that the end of drama should be moral didacticism, and denounced Ibsen's influence as "evil" (*JJ* 70). Joyce vigorously attacked the philistinism of Clery's paper, and was sufficiently aroused to begin working on a paper of his own, 'Drama and Life', in which he elaborated his theories on drama and defiantly championed the work of Ibsen. In 'Drama and Life' Joyce argued that drama was the medium in which the underlying moral and cultural imperatives of a given society could best be explored. He writes:

> Human society is the embodiment of changeless laws which the whimsicalities and circumstances of men and women involve and overwrap. The realm of literature is the realm of these accidental manners and humours — a spacious realm; and the true literary

> artist concerns himself mainly with them. Drama has to do with the underlying laws first, in all their nakedness and divine severity, and only secondarily with the motley agents who bear them out. (*CW* 40)

If drama is to realise itself fully and examine the "underlying laws" of society scrupulously, it "will be for the future at war with convention". (*CW* 41)

On 8 May 1899 Yeats's play, *The Countess Cathleen*, opened in Dublin and was the premiere production of the Irish Literary Theatre. The establishment of a national theatre was a pivotal moment in the Irish literary and cultural revival, and provided an important forum in which the unfolding drama of Irish decolonisation would be effected. *The Countess Cathleen* portrays a countess in the west of Ireland who sells her soul to the devil rather than allow the Irish peasantry to die of starvation. As Ellmann notes in *Yeats: The Man and the Masks*, in this play Yeats "united the Faustian pact with a nationalist description of Irish poverty under English rule."[27] *The Countess Cathleen* seemed to constitute the war against convention that Joyce envisaged for modern drama. The play provoked a furore. Although he had not read *The Countess Cathleen*, Cardinal Logue, the archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, was outraged by the play and condemned it as heretical. A group of University College students, spurred on by Logue's legitimating censure and their own objection to the portrayal of the Irish peasantry as an ignorant and superstitious people, disrupted the performance with their vocal protestations. Joyce attended the opening performance and applauded the production with vigour. In Chapter

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[27] Richard Ellmann, *Yeats: The Man and the Masks* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p. 119.

5 of *A Portrait* Stephen reflects on the dispiriting events of the opening night of the Irish Literary Theatre:

> He was alone at the side of the balcony, looking out of jaded eyes at the culture of Dublin in the stalls and at the tawdry scene-cloths and human dolls framed by garish lamps of the stage. A burly policeman sweated behind him and seemed at every moment about to act. The catcalls and hisses and mocking cries ran in rude gusts round the hall from his scattered fellowstudents.
>
> — A libel on Ireland!
>
> — Made in Germany!
>
> — Blasphemy!
>
> — We never sold out faith!
>
> — No Irishwoman ever did it!
>
> — We want no amateur atheists.
>
> — We want no budding buddhists. (*P* 245-246)

Not content with effecting a rude disruption of the performance of *The Countess Cathleen*, a number of Joyce's friends and contemporaries — Francis Skeffington, Thomas Kettle, John Francis Byrne and Richard Sheehy — composed a letter of protest against the play from the Catholic students of University College which was published in the *Freeman's Journal* on 10 May 1899. As Ellmann notes, this letter, which professed contempt for Yeats as a thinker and condemned the play's portrayal of the Irish people as "a loathsome brood of apostates", (*JJ* 67) was left on a table in the college the morning after

the performance and students were invited to add their signatures. Joyce was asked to add his name to the petition but refused.

In spite of the hostile reception that *The Countess Cathleen* had elicited from the Irish hierarchy and the "younglings" of University College, Joyce was hopeful that the Irish Literary Theatre would go on from this "first encounter" (*CW* 70) and realise a forum in which a modern dramatic tradition could be developed in Ireland that would wage a discursive war against the unquestioned conventions of contemporary Irish society. He was not disappointed by the initial productions of the Irish Literary Theatre. As Ellmann observes in *James Joyce*, the production of *The Heather Field*, a play by Edward Martyn about an idealistic Irish hero, suggested that the theatre might be following the example of Ibsen; and in February 1900 Joyce attended a performance of *The Bending Bow*, a new play by George Moore and Martyn, and he was sufficiently sympathetic to the municipal theme of this production to later write a play of his own, *A Brilliant Career*.[28] Emboldened by Yeats's declaration that the Theatre would venture to perform the works of European as well as Irish playwrights, Joyce began preparing translations of the works of Gerhart Hauptmann. However, by October 1901 it became apparent that the Irish Literary Theatre would not be taking advantage of the powerlessness of state censorship in Dublin, and rather than presenting productions of the works of Ibsen, Tolstoy, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Björnson, and Giacosa, the Theatre would focus on the production of unrealistic plays whose subject matter was taken from Irish legend. In Joyce's view this was Irish parochialism at its worst and he believed that the Irish

[28] Joyce sent a copy of *A Brilliant Career* to William Archer in August 1900. Although Archer read the play with interest and noted Joyce's talent, in a letter of 15 September 1900 he stated that "the canvas [was] too large for the subject", and that the play was "wildly impossible" for the commercial stage (*JJ* 79). There are no extant versions of this play.

Literary Theatre had surrendered to the will of the "popular devil" (*CW* 70). It was his intense frustration at this loss of nerve that provoked Joyce to write, in the space of a morning, his blistering attack on the Irish Literary Theatre, *The Day of the Rabblement*, which he intended for publication in *St. Stephens*.

III: The Significance of the Presence of Bruno's *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* and *The Ash Wednesday Supper* in Joyce's *The Day of the Rabblement.*

In *My Brother's Keeper* Stanislaus Joyce argues that in *The Day of the Rabblement*, and in 'Drama and Life' and 'James Clarence Mangan' (the two papers that Joyce read before the Literary and Historical Society in January 1900 and February 1902), his brother "was defining his position to himself and against others — *contra Gentiles*." (*MBK* 137-38) *The Day of the Rabblement* is certainly the most "explosive" of Joyce's discursive sorties during this period, and the text in which he most clearly signifies his heretical opposition to the dominant literary, cultural and religious orthodoxies of Edwardian Ireland. The very title of the acerbic pamphlet conveys Joyce's arrogant belief in the authoritative nature of his own utterance and it covertly alludes to the heretical *auctoritas* whom he has chosen to sanction his jeremiad against the Irish Literary Theatre and the prevailing intellectual and cultural temper. I will discuss the manner in which Joyce's employs aspects of Bruno's discursive strategies in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* and, more specifically, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, at greater length in the course of this section. However, at this juncture I merely wish to observe that in these ethical Italian dialogues Bruno is unrelenting

in his caustic disparagement of the "cultivated" and the "uncultivated" (*CW* 70) multitude. He is consistently scornful of asinine pedants and grammarians, and the Aristotelians of orthodox theology and philosophy, both Catholic and Protestant, who wilfully blind themselves to the immanence of "Truth" (Divinity) in nature ("*natura est deus rebus*")[29] and who stubbornly cling to the transcendentalism of the rationalist scholastic system. He also demonstrates little patience for the superstitious and ignorant mass of men and women who accept the strictures of the moral and physical universe that is presented to them. Joyce's employment of the word "rabblement", a rare variant on rabble, the contemptuous term for those of the lowest stratum of society, and meaning a riotous or tumultuous mob, to describe the cultivated and the uncultivated mass of contemporary Irish society, rather than the Latinate "multitude", provides for a more dramatic title. According to the *OED*, the provenance of the archaic "rabblement" is the late sixteenth-century and is thus contemporaneous with Bruno's composition of his Italian dialogues in Elizabethan England. Indeed, like Stephen in *A Portrait*, Joyce demonstrates that "His mind, in the vesture of a doubting monk, stood often under the shadow of [...] [the Elizabethan] age", (*P* 190) the historical moment in which Bruno waged his heretical struggle. It can thus be argued that in entitling his attack on the Irish Literary Theatre *The Day of the Rabblement* Joyce is attempting consciously to evoke something of the excoriating tenor of Bruno's textual utterances of the 1580s, and is necessarily inviting a parallel to be drawn between his own heretical stance and that of his anathematised predecessor.

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[29] Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, trans. Arthur D. Imerti (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 235.

According to Stanislaus Joyce in *My Brother's Keeper* he advised his brother to omit the reference to "the Nolan" in *The Day of the Rabblement.* However, Joyce ignored his objections and desired that his covert reference to "the Nolan" might stimulate some interest in Bruno's philosophy:

> He intended that the reader of his article should have at first a false impression that he was quoting some little-known Irish writer — the definite article before some old family name being a courtesy title in Ireland — so that when they discovered their error, the name of Giordano Bruno might perhaps awaken interest in his life and work. Laymen, he repeated, should be encouraged to think. (*MBK* 153)

The laymen of University College initially thought that "the Nolan" was a guise for Joyce himself, or referred to a porter named Nolan at Cecelia Street medical school (*JJ* 89), and not the discursive entity through which Giordano Bruno articulates his heretical philosophical ideas in such dialogues as *The Ash Wednesday Supper.* There can be little doubt that Joyce's appeal to "one of the atheistic writers whom the papal secretary puts on the *Index*" would not have found much sympathy among the "shivering society" (*SH* 40) of middle-class Catholics at University College. However, as Jean-Michel Rabaté argues in *Joyce Upon the Void,* in employing the deliberately obscure "Nolan" in *The Day of Rabblement* as an "Irish No man" Joyce has created a textual site that is "an aesthetic and political 'no man's land.'"[30] It is an example of Joyce as the

[30] Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void,* p. 10.

"deviant insider" at his most mischievous. In covertly employing the heretical *auctoritas* of Bruno in the guise of a "little-known Irish writer" Joyce insinuates himself into a discursive position that is deceptively familiar and orthodox and from which he can attack the manner in which the Irish Literary Theatre had begun to pander to the pieties of the more popularist elements of the Gaelic literary and cultural revival.

In their notes to the *The Day of the Rabblement* in *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann suggest that the quotation that is attributed to "the Nolan" in the opening sentence of the pamphlet — "No man [...] can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude" — is probably borrowed from a quotation in I. Frith's 1887 biography of Bruno, *The Life of Giordano Bruno, the Nolan*. (Although Mason and Ellmann identify a passage in Frith's text as the likely source for Joyce's quotation, they do not disclose the Bruno dialogue from which this passage is taken. The quotation, "No man truly loves goodness who is not incensed by the multitude", is from *De gli heroici furori, The Heroic Enthusiasts*.)[31] Stanislaus Joyce has argued in *My Brother's Keeper*, that his brother's description of the cultured and uncultured Irish multitude as "the rabblement", "*la bestia Trionfante*", is borrowed from *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, and there is a passage in this dialogue concerning "Truth" and the "multitude" from which Joyce's Nolan quotation may be derived. In the First Part of the Second Dialogue of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, Saulino, Bruno's symbol of man in search of wisdom, discusses why it is that Truth is the paragon of all virtues and eminently worthy of her restoration to the highest arc of the heavens:

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[31] See I Frith, *The Life of Giordano Bruno, The Nolan*, rev. Moriz Carriere (London: Trübner and

> SAUL. [...] Truth is the most sincere, the most divine of all things [...] Without a defender and protector, she defends herself; and yet she loves the company of a few wise men. She hates the multitude, does not show herself before those who do not seek her for her own sake, and does not wish to be declared to those who do not humbly expose themselves to her, or to all those who fraudulently seek her; and therefore she dwells most high, whither all gaze, and few see.[32]

In the introduction to his 1964 translation of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* Arthur D. Imerti has argued: "Bruno's concept of truth is the source of the most heretical premises contained in *Lo Spaccio*."[33] Bruno equates "Truth" with Divinity. He believes that the search for Truth is not an infallible one, and is scornful of those philosophical systems, specifically the rationalist theologico-philosophical system of scholasticism, that claim to have realised an infallible method of apprehending "Truth". Bruno heretically believed that "Truth" (Divinity) was not an objective transcendental reality that was extrinsic to the material universe and which could only be apprehended through Platonic contemplation. Rather, he affirmed that "Truth" was immanent in the material universe (nature) and could be realised through the senses. As Imerti observes:

> [...] she [Truth] is relative to time, and reveals herself as the substance of things in myriad and ever-changing forms. She is

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Co., 1887), p. 165.

> manifest in all living things, operating through the eternal laws of an immanent God identified with a timeless universe, and although she may appear different in each succeeding generation, she is immutable and immortal.[34]

As I have noted, Joyce's scornful disparagement of the "multitude" as "*la bestia trionfante*" and his privileging of a conception of "Truth" that is not merely the preserve of the powerful and the pre-eminent, would seem to suggest that Joyce did indeed derive sanction for his attack on the Irish Literary Theatre from *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. Moreover, I would suggest that an awareness of the presence of a Brunonian notion of "Truth" in Joyce's work may provide a useful context for a re-examination of his conception of an epiphany as "a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself." (*SH* 216) I would suggest that Joyce's conception of an "epiphany" as that moment when the artist, principally through the modality of sensory perception, becomes aware of a "spiritual manifestation" in the material universe (nature) is certainly redolent of Bruno's belief in the fallible process by which the philosopher ("the lover of the true or the good") may apprehend the immanence of "Truth" (Divinity) in nature. Such a re-examination may also emphasise the degree to which Joyce's piratical appropriation of elements from Catholic doctrine and theology in the composition of his texts is invariably at variance with orthodoxy and is a signification of his heretical intent.

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[32] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, pp. 140-141.
[33] Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', ibid, p. 30.
[34] Ibid, p. 31.

Joyce's allusions to the "covert authority" of Bruno's 1584 astrological ethical dialogue does suggest that he intended *The Day of the Rabblement* to impact in the cultural and intellectual discursive environment of Edwardian Dublin with "a maximum of explosive force" (*SH* 53). *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* is, perhaps, the most notorious of all of Bruno's philosophical writings. It was the only text to be singled out by the Roman Inquisition at the summation of Bruno's trial. It was a searing indictment of the religious and social insitutions of sixteenth-century Europe, but the Inquisition read it as a specific allegorical attack on the papacy and presumed it to be a further textual instance of the anti-papist tracts of Calvinist propaganda. Although Bruno does subject contemporary Catholicism to some considerable criticism, it is the reformed religions that are most strongly attacked in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. The Calvinists, in particular, are remorselessly savaged; they are frequently referred to as "that idle set of pedants";[35] they are "worse than maggots, sterile locusts,"[36] and are considered to be the "stinking filth of the world."[37] Neverthless, as Imerti has argued, the assumption that *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* was an exclusive attack on the papacy and contemporary Catholicism is unsurprising: "for owing to its daring ethical and epistemological speculation, its philosophy of nature, of religion, and of history, the work became the embodiment of all that is most heretical in the philosopher's thinking."[38] And, critically, the assumption that *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* was principally an heretical attack on the Catholic Church was

[35] Ibid, p. 124.
[36] Ibid, p. 126.
[37] Ibid, p. 126.
[38] Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', ibid, p. 21.

the reading that was upheld by both the forces of Catholic orthodoxy and anticlericalism.

In *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* the "great Patriarch"[39] Jove, who is subject to the fate of mutations like all of the ensouled entities of the infinite universe, is introduced as a remorseful figure who laments that "The great reputation of our [the gods's] majesty, providence, and justice has been destroyed."[40] The gods have long neglected their divine duties and the effect of this ignominious abnegation of responsibility has been made hideously resplendent in the heavens:

> For there are clearly seen the fruits, the relics, the reports, the rumors, the writings, the histories, of our adulteries, incests, fornications, wraths, disdains, rapines, and other iniquities and crimes; and to reward ourselves for our transgressions, we have committed more transgressions, elevating to heaven the triumphs of vice and the seats of wickedness, leaving virtues and Justice, banished, buried, and neglected in hell.[41]

The beast that is triumphant in the heavens is not the Pope. This multiform creature is the sum of all vices and its ascendancy in the constellations of heaven has allowed the cultured and the uncultured multitude to flourish on earth. As Bruno writes in his 'Explantory Epistle' (dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney), "the number of the fools and the perverse is incomparably larger than that of the

[39] Bruno, ibid, p. 119.
[40] Ibid, p. 106.
[41] Ibid, pp. 106-107.

wise."[42] Therefore, Jove summons all those gods who are not false and decrees that on the Feast of Gigantomachy a celestial "conclave"[43] will convene to discuss the effecting of an ethical reform of the heavens:

> Then is expelled the triumphant beast, that is, the vices which predominate and are wont to tread upon the divine side; the mind is repugned of errors and becomes adorned with virtues, because of love of beauty, which is seen in goodness and natural justice, and because of desire for pleasure, consequent from her fruits, and because of hatred and fear of the contrary deformity and displeasure.[44]

A full account of the protracted disputations of the gods is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* Bruno effects a remorseless allegorical attack on contemporary social and religious institutions and, as Imerti writes, he envisages a utopian "society in which the natural religion of the Egyptians, in its purest sense, and the speculative intellect of the Greeks would coincide in a sociopolitical structure patterned after that of the Roman Republic."[45]

In her magisterial study of Bruno, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,* Frances A. Yates has argued that the theme of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* is principally "the glorification of the magical religion of the

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[42] Ibid, p. 70.
[43] Ibid, p. 104.
[44] Ibid, p. 80.
[45] Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', ibid, p. 46.

Egyptians";[46] and she states that the dialogue "outlines a coming religious and moral reform."[47] The magical religion of the Egyptians, which is presented by Bruno as a pantheistic religion in which divinity is conceived of as being immanent in nature ("*natura est deus rebus*"), is the Hermetic "Nolan philosophy"[48] that Bruno believes "conforms to the true theology and [which] is worthy of the favor of the true religions."[49] Yates argues that Bruno hoped that his "Nolan philosophy" would provide the basis for a reconciliation of the contraries of Catholicism and Protestantism and usher in the return of the Hermetic Golden Age.

The radical negotiations that Joyce makes in his writings with the dominant discursive practices of the Irish social formation cannot be neatly compared with Bruno's "own vast philosophical-theological-political-social program."[50] However, he did struggle to effect a satisfactory disengagement with Catholicism in a social formation fraught with sectarian tension, and Stephen Dedalus famously declares in the penultimate diary entry of *A Portrait* his intention "to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race." (*P* 276) It could be argued that any attempt to suggest that Bruno's Hermetic mission to reconcile the antagonistic faiths of Catholicism and Protestantism amidst the religious and political turmoil of sixteenth-century Europe, through a rejuvenation of the "true" magical religion of the Egyptians, can be seen to resonate in Joyce's own desire to forge an Irish consciousness that is not subjected to the hegemony of contemporary Catholicism is either forced or

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[46] Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 211.
[47] Ibid, p. 215.
[48] Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, trans. Edward A. Gosselin and Lawrence S. Lerner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1995. First published 1977), p. 69.

disengenous. However, it is extremely interesting to note that in 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages', the lecture that he delivered to the Università Populare in Trieste in April 1907, Joyce makes an identification between the religions of the ancient civilizations of Ireland and Egypt.

> This language [Irish] is oriental in origin, and has been identified by many philologists with the ancient language of the Phoenicians, the originators of trade and navigation, according to historians. This adventurous people, who had a monopoly of the sea, established in Ireland a civilization that had decayed and almost disappeared before the first Greek historian took his pen in hand. It jealously preserved the secrets of its knowledge, and the first mention of the island of Ireland in foreign literature is found in a Greek poem of the fifth century before Christ, where the historian repeats the Phoenician tradition. The language that the Latin writer of comedy, Plautus, put into the mouth of Phoenicians in his comedy *Poenulus* is almost the same language that the Irish peasants speak today, according to the critic Vallancey. The religion and civilization of this ancient people, later known by the name of Druidism, were Egyptian. The Druid priests had their oak trees. In the crude state of knowledge of those times, the Irish priests were considered very learned, and when Plutarch mentions Ireland, he says that it was the dwelling place of holy men. Festus Avienus in the fourth century was the first to give Ireland the title

[49] Ibid, p. 70.
[50] Gossellin and Lerner, 'Introduction', ibid, p. 13.

> of Insula Sacra; and later, after having undergone the invasions of the Spanish and Gaelic tribes, it was converted to Christianity by St. Patrick and his followers, and again earned the title of 'Holy Isle'. (CW 156).

As Elizabeth Butler Cullingford argues in her essay 'Phoenician Genealogies and Oriental Geographies: Joyce, Language and Race' in *Semicolonial Joyce*, in 'Ireland, Isle of Saints and Sages' "Joyce's Orientalist genealogy of the Irish language undermines the 'Roman tyranny' by challenging Catholic religious primacy in Ireland."[51] In *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* Gauri Viswanathan argues that in those social formations in which the parameters of individual autonomy have become truncated to the extent that there has long been a blurring of the boundaries between national and religious identity, any internal challenge to the religious doctrines and practices of the nation is necessarily regarded as heretical. This cultural phenomenon is more pronounced in those colonial situations in which the racial or ethnic and religious identity of the colonised subjects is different to that of the colonial or imperial power. As such, any individual subject who signifies his or her departure from the fold, either through an act of conversion or apostasy, or who expresses dissent from the orthodox religious doctrines or practices of the national community, is adjudged to have blasphemously violated the integrity and cohesion of the sacred narrative practices that constitute and endlessly reproduce the nation, and the individual subject is thus correspondingly anathematised.[52]

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[51] Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, 'Phoenician Genealogies and Oriental Geographies: Joyce, Language and Race', *Semicolonial Joyce*, eds. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 211.

[52] See Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief* (Princeton,

Although Cullingford observes that Charles Vallancey's theories of the "putative oriental ancestry"[53] of the Irish language had long been discredited by the time that Joyce wrote 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages' (Mason and Ellmann make the same observation in their notes to this lecture), Joyce's "deadpan promulgation of Vallancey's long-exploded linguistic theories",[54] tongue-in-cheek or otherwise, does constitute a subversive negotiation with the constituting narratives of Irish cultural and political nationalism. In reproducing Vallencey's linguistic theories Joyce can be seen to challenge the "axiomatic primacy of St. Patrick",[55] and the ascetic form of Christianity that he bequeathed to Ireland. According to Viswanathan such an assault on the sacred and constituting narrative practices of a national community is inherently heretical. Although it can be argued that Joyce's decision to emphasise the Egyptian nature of the Druidic religion of pre-Christian Ireland may be attributed to his reading of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, there is no evidence to suggest that the ancient Druidic religion and civilisation of Ireland is the same as the "magical religion of Egyptians" that Bruno celebrates in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* in his Hermetic mission to reconcile the contraries of Catholicism and Protestantism. The fact that Joyce argues that the Druidic religion and civilization of pre-Christian Ireland were Egyptian in origin, and that Bruno glorifies the "mystical religion of Egypt" in the anathematised text that Joyce employs as an heretical *auctoritas* in *The Day of the Rabblement* and in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* may be merely coincidental. However, I would argue that it is possible that such a coincidence can be interpreted as further evidence of the

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NJ:Princeton University Press, 1998).
[53] Cullingford, 'Phoenician Genealogies and Oriental Geographies', *Semicolonial Joyce*, p. 223.
[54] Ibid, p. 222.
[55] Ibid, p, 222.

extent to which Joyce's reading of Bruno's heretical texts may have informed the manner in which he conducted his own discursive campaign against contemporary Catholicism.

Although the principal theme of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* may be the "glorification of the magical religion of the Egyptians", the most striking aspect of the text is the manner in which Bruno routinely savages the multitude. As Robert D. Newman has noted in 'Bloom and the Beast: Joyce's Use of Astrological Allegory', "Bruno broke with Renaissance custom by modelling his dialogue form after the satirist Lucian rather than Plato."[56] Imerti has noted that "Bruno believed the poet is intuitive of many philosophical and religious truths."[57] Indeed, the fact that Bruno models the form of his dialogue after the satirical dialogues of Lucian rather than the Socratic dialogues of Plato does support Imerti's observation. The satirical nature of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* is most evident in the frequent digressions from the philosophical disputations in which Bruno vents spleen against the "bestial multitude."[58] Like Joyce, Bruno was a "good hater"[59] and steeled himself with the conviction that he was engaged in an attritional campaign against an asinine and hypocritical society that was complacently in thrall to the moribund doctrine and teachings of ecclesiastical authority. In his numerous digressions in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* Bruno attacks the cultured and the uncultured multitude of sixteenth-century Europe: the Spanish Inquisition, Calvinists, Aristotelians, pedants, grammarians, and monks are all subjected to his barbed

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[56] Robert D. Newman, 'Bloom and the Beast: Joyce's Use of Bruno's Astrological Allegory', *New Alliance in Joyce Studies: "When it's Aped to Foul a Delfian"*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), p. 211.
[57] Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 23.
[58] Bruno, ibid, p. 196.
[59] Elliot B. Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (Toronto: Toronto

pen. Although Joyce does not make any reference to the political, philosophical or theological disputations of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* I would suggest that his denunciation of the narrow Catholic morality of "*la bestia Trionfante*" that is contemporary Irish society, and the manner in which the Irish Literary Theatre has surrendered to the dubious aesthetic tastes of these "trolls" (*CW* 71), is redolent of the excoriating attacks on the "bestial multitude" that Bruno makes in his numerous digressions in the dialogue. As I have noted, in 'Drama and Life' Joyce argues that drama is the medium in which the underlying moral and cultural imperatives of a given society can best be explored. In *The Day of the Rabblement* Joyce re-iterates this conviction and declares that drama is "the highest form of art". The Irish Literary Theatre had given "out that it was the champion of progress, and proclaimed war against [the] commercialism and vulgarity" (*CW* 70) of the modern stage. However, at the first encounter with the will of the "placid and intensely moral" multitude, during the production of *The Countess Cathleen*, the directors, in Joyce's view, demonstrated themselves not to be among those "few wise men" who love 'Truth' and abhor the multitude, and duly surrendered the artistic integrity of the theatre to "the rabblement of the most belated race in Europe." (*CW* 70) In its surrender to the "trolls" the Irish Literary Theatre had "cut itself adrift from the line of advancement." (*CW* 71) Joyce deplores the shyness of the directors of the theatre in their refusal to escape the "contagion" (*CW* 71) of the "popular devil", (*CW* 70) and castigates Yeats for his "treacherous" accommodation of the whims of the "half-gods" of the Gaelic cultural and literary revival. (*CW* 71) Furthermore, it can be argued that in *The Day of the Rabblement* Joyce is insinuating that the ascendancy of the cultured

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University Press, 1980), p. 4.

and the uncultured multitude in Irish society is a result of the moribund and decrepit moral and intellectual authority of the "gods" of that society, particularly the discursive influence of the anti-intellectual and Ultramontane Irish Roman Catholic Church.

As I have argued, Joyce's drew sanction from his reading of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant* in his denunciation of contemporary bourgeois Irish society as "*la bestia Trionfante*" in *The Day of the Rabblement*, and, as I will discuss at greater length in Chapter 4, that hostility to the cultured and uncultured "rabblement" is manifestly developed and continued in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*. Joyce employs Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement* as an heretical *auctoritas* who provides sanction for his attack on the Irish Literary Theatre and his privileging of an Ibsenite modern dramatic form. Indeed, in the final sentences of *The Day of the Rabblement* Joyce insinuates that he is among those men "who are worthy to carry on the tradition of the old master who is dying in Christiana." (*CW* 72) In *My Brother's Keeper* Stanislaus Joyce observes the "Laymen" of University College "certainly failed to notice that in the last sentence he proclaimed himself the successor of Ibsen. It was a proud boast for a youth of nineteen, but not an empty one, though not literally maintained." (*MBK* 153) In spite of this imagined confederacy with Ibsen I would suggest that the legacy of Joyce's encounter with "the heresiarch martyr of Nola" was to be of greater significance in terms of his struggle with the Catholic "rabblement", and the realisation of his radical modernist aesthetics in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, than his early encounter with the work of Ibsen.

I would suggest that "the radical principle of artistic economy" that Joyce privileges in *The Day of the Rabblement*, and which Stephen cultivates in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, is partly derived from his obvious enthusiasm for "the Nolan", the subversive discursive entity that Bruno employs in his ethical dialogues. *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* is a dialogue that is "Proposed by Jove, / Achieved by the Council, / Revealed by Mercury, / Narrated by Sophia, / Heard by Saulino, / [and] Recorded by the Nolan."[60] However, the "Nolan" does not actually appear as a discursive entity within the text, as he does in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. As I have noted, Jean-Michel Rabaté states in *Joyce Upon the Void* that Joyce was certainly familiar with *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, although he offers no textual evidence to support his assertion. I have suggested that the quotation attributed to "the Nolan" at the beginning of *The Day of the Rabblement* is possibly derived from *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, and Joyce's castigation of the "rabblement" ("*la bestia Trionfante*") in his pamphlet can arguably be seen to strengthen this assumption. However, there is a more succinct passage in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* which is closer to "the Nolan" quotation that appears in the opening sentence of *The Day of the Rabblement*. At the end of the First Dialogue of *The Ash Wednesday Supper* the philosopher Teofilo, who claims that the Nolan "is as close to me as I am to myself",[61] says:

> TEO: Yes, but in the end it is safer to seek the true and the proper outside the mob, because it [the mob] never contributes anything

[60] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 67.
[61] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 87.

> valuable and worthy. Things of perfection and worth are always found among the few.[62]

There is also a similar passage in the Third Dialogue. In this passage Teofilo says:

> [...] the opinions of the philosophers are very far from those of the common mob [whose opinions] are unworthy of being followed and most worthy of being avoided, since they are contrary to truth and right thinking.[63]

The disparagement of the "mob" ("multitude") in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* is as trenchant as it is in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. Indeed, in the Second Dialogue Teofilo describes the "bulk of the common people" of England as a "stinkhole" (a privy) whose "evil reek" is suppressed by the "open-handed humanity" of the Elizabethan court.[64] Bruno is scornful in his estimation of the intellectual capacity of his scholastic adversaries, and describes their methods as "like those of peasants".[65] However, in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Bruno does not articulate his discursive interrogation of the contemporary theologico-philosophical scholastic system (the touchstone of orthodoxy for both Catholicism and Protestantism) in the form of an allegorical dialogue, and the radical speculative intellect of Bruno is openly manifested in the text by the discursive entity of "the Nolan."

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[62] Ibid, pp. 99-100.
[63] Ibid, p. 138.
[64] Ibid, p. 120.
[65] Ibid, p. 110.

In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* the philosopher Teofilo (whose name means "dear to God")[66] relates to his fellow interlocutors a discussion that took place during a banquet at the house of the Elizabethan intellectual, courtier and poet Sir Fulke Greville. In this discussion Bruno, "the Nolan", engages in a defence and exposition of the Copernican heliocentric theory ("a new, resolute and most certain doctrine")[67]. As Stanley L. Jaki has noted in the introduction to his 1975 translation of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, this dialogue was the first book-length defence of Copernicus's revolutionary heliocentric theory.[68] Although Bruno praises the "greatness of this German [Copernicus]" who had "little regard for the stupid mob",[69] his defence of Copernicus's heliocentric theory and his disparagement of the Aristotelian geocentrism of scholasticism is principally a prelude to his exposition of the true "Nolan philosophy." Newman has observed that Bruno was a "syncretist and was eclectic in what he chose to syncretize."[70] Bruno goes beyond Copernicus's revolutionary cosmological doctrine in positing an infinite universe of infinite worlds, and, as Yates has argued, represents Copernicus as "a precursor of the dawn of truth and of its prophet, the Nolan".[71] Moreover, in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* "the Nolan" is described by Teofilo as seeing "through neither the eyes of Copernicus nor those of Ptolemy, but through his own eyes."[72] He authorises a discursive position from which he can enunciate his "ancient and true philosophy [...] [which has] for so many centuries [been] entombed in the dark caverns of blind, spiteful,

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[66] Gosselin and Lerner, ibid, p. 101n.
[67] Bruno, ibid, p. 70.
[68] Stanley L. Jaki, 'Introduction', *The Ash Wednesday Supper. La Cena de le ceneri* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton and Co., 1975), p. 7.
[69] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 86
[70] Robert D. Newman, 'Bloom and the Beast', p. 210.
[71] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 236.
[72] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 85.

arrogant, and envious ignorance".[73] As Gosselin and Lerner have suggested, "Bruno uses the Copernican system as a grand metaphor or hieroglyph for his insights into the fundamental nature of the universe, into the relationship between Man the microcosm and the external macrocosm, and [...] into the relationship between Man and God."[74]

As I have noted, Bruno employs "the Nolan" as a discursive entity within the text of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. There are no overt allusions or references to this dialogue in either *The Day of the Rabblement* or *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*. However, I would suggest that the manner in which Joyce introduces "the Nolan" into his attack on the Irish Literary Theatre in *The Day of the Rabblement* and the process by which Stephen is constructed as an heretical outsider who is engaged in a discursive struggle with contemporary Catholicism in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* may be attributed to his reading of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. In *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* Gose has suggested that the one aspect of Bruno's texts to which Joyce may have been drawn during his initial encounter with "the Nolan", while an undergraduate at University College, is the occasions "in the Italian dialogues [that] Bruno allows the voice of the Magus to speak."[75] For Bruno the "lover of the true of the good" is the Hermetic philosopher who is able to unveil the secrets of nature and realise immanent divinity; he is the heroic enthusiast who seeks to "unite himself with God." The voice of the Magus is unmistakably present in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. In the First Dialogue Teofilo praises "the Nolan" and the manner in which he has challenged the continued hegemony of the geocentricism

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[73] Ibid, p. 87.
[74] Gosselin and Lerner, 'Introduction', ibid, p. 28.
[75] Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 10.

of the "vulgar philosophy"[76] of scholasticism, and blasphemously attributes Christ-like virtues and accomplishments:

> Now behold, the man [the Nolan] who has surmounted the air, penetrated the sky, wandered among the stars, passed beyond the borders of the world, [who has] effaced the imaginary walls of the first, eighth, ninth, tenth spheres, and the many more you could add according to the tartlings of empty mathematicians and the blind vision of vulgar philosophers. Thus, by the light of his senses and reason, he opened those cloisters of truth which it is possible for us to open with the most diligent inquiry; he laid bare covered and veiled nature, gave eyes to the moles and light to the blind, who could not fix their gaze and see their image reflected in the many mirrors which surround them on every side; he loosed tongues of the dumb who could not and dared not express their tangled opinions, [and] he strengthened the lame who could not make that progress of the spirit which base and dissolute matter cannot make. He makes them no less present [on them] than if they were actual inhabits of the sun, of the moon, and of the other known stars; he shows how similar or different, greater or lesser are those bodies which we see far away, in relation to the earth which is so close to use and to which we are joined; and he opens our eyes to see [truly] this deity, this our mother [the earth] who feeds and nourishes us on her back after having conceived us in

[76] Ibid, p. 109.

> her womb to which she always receives us again, and he [leads us] not think that beyond her there is a material universe without souls, and life and even excrement among its corporeal substances.[77]

This passage has the force of an heretical creed. Yates has observed in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* that it was passages such as this in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* "which used to throw the nineteenth-century liberals into ecstasies as the cry of the advanced scientific thinker breaking out of medieval shackles".[78] As I have noted in Chapter 2, Joyce encountered Bruno within the contexts of the scholarly rehabilitation of his writings and the anticlericalist construction of the Bruno legend, which occurred during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although Joyce's appropriation of Bruno is different to those made by Pater, Wilde, Yeats and Swinburne, I would suggest that Joyce was similarly attracted to this image of "the Nolan" in the Italian dialogues. The image of a man who "has freed the human mind and the knowledge which were shut in the strait prison of the air"[79] is nothing if not exemplary.

Joyce may have been primarily drawn to the exemplary image of the Magus that Bruno creates in his Italian dialogues. However, I would suggest that Joyce found the manner in which Bruno employs "the Nolan" as a discursive entity in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, which parodies, subverts and masters the discourses of contemporary religious and intellectual orthodoxy, instructive and one that may have influenced the textual strategies he was to employ in his own fiction in his own discursive struggle with the forces of orthodoxy. In 'Heresy

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[77] Ibid, p. 90.
[78] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 237.

and Hierarchy: The Authorization of Giordano Bruno', an article that was published in 1989 in *Stanford Humanities Review*, Rivka Feldhay and Adi Ophir have suggested that in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, specifically in relation to the manner in which he employs "the Nolan" as a "discursive entity [...] that founds and sustains authorship",[80] Bruno exhibits a modern concept of authorship which is self-legitimating. Feldhay and Ophir argue that Bruno constructs a mode of authorship that is not dependent on the intellectual and religious discourses of orthodoxy for its signification:

> The bizarre composition of the *Cena* [*The Ash Wednesday Supper*], its discursive layers, and textual practices, may serve as clues to a specific discourse, irreducible either to science or Hermeticism. What Bruno has to offer is a modern concept of authorship, which constrains the way he observes and interprets nature, reads and uses texts, the autonomy of his discourse and its potential institutionalization within a political environment.[81]

In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Bruno signifies a radical disjunction with the accepted practices of scholasticism. As Umberto Eco has argued, "The medieval scholar is always pretending to have invented nothing and constantly quotes some previous authority [...] one must never put something new without making it seem to have been said by someone in the past."[82] For those writers who

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[79] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 89.
[80] Rivka Feldhay and Adi Ophir, 'Heresy and Hierarchy: The Authorization of Giordano Bruno', *Stanford Humanities Review*, 1:1 (Spring 1989), p. 126.
[81] Ibid, p. 118.
[82] Umberto Eco, 'Towards a New Middle Ages', *On Signs*, ed. M. Blonsky (Baltimore, 1985), p. 499; cited ibid, p. 120n.

operated within the discursive parameters of the rationalist theologico-philosophical system of scholasticism the authority of this objective reality was a *sine qua non* and was derived from the divine revelations of Holy Scripture and the traditions of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church. As such, the scholastic system was an inviolable monolithic theologico-philosophical system. It is a discursive *auctoritas*. The work of the medieval scholar became a function of that scholastic system, a "knot in a web of commentaries."[83] The authority of its utterance was dependent on the degree to which it reproduced the authority and tradition of the scholastic system, and any such addition to that system was attributed to a previous patristic writer. Thus, any philosophical discourse that defied the conventions of the scholastic system was deemed illegitimate, or defiantly heretical.

As Feldhay and Ophir argue in 'Heresy and Hierarchy', in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Bruno inverts the traditional system of authority and dares to construct an authoritative discursive position that is extrinsic to the theologico-philosophical scholastic system. Bruno is not attempting to effortlessly insinuate his discourse into a monolithic "web of commentaries"; he is proclaiming a revolutionary rupture with that system.

> Bruno seldom tries to gain the status of an authorized writer in a known discourse, presenting himself rather as the rising sun of a new intellectual era, with Copernicus as its dawn. Not only does he ridicule the authority of tradition, but he declares his own authority *ex nihilo*, simultaneously undermining the tradition of

[83] Ibid, p. 127.

> authorship and striving to articulate a new concept of authority and authorship.[84]

The authority that Bruno asserts is derived from Hermeticism, and not from the scholastic system. In positing an infinite universe of infinite worlds in which the contraries of the microcosm and the macrocosm are reconciled, Bruno has dismantled the "mechanical heaven" of scholasticism and liberated human reason from "the fetters of the eight, nine or ten imaginary mobiles or movers."[85] Thus, in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Teofilo honours "the Nolan" as the true Hermetic philosopher who has, "by the light of his senses and reason", unveiled the secrets of nature and revealed how mankind is always on the cusp of the divine. Having dismantled the hierarchy of spheres Bruno radically disrupts the discursive conventions of the scholastic system that has maintained this "mechanical heaven."

As Feldhay and Ophir observe, Bruno's effects a "scandalous presentation of the writing self [that] goes against the accepted roles of discourse in Neo-Platonic, Aristotelian, and even so-called 'Hermetic' traditions."[86] Bruno destabilises the authority of contemporary scholasticism through the textual construction of a "writing self" ("the Nolan") which radiates its own authority. In the 'Prefatory Epistle' Bruno proclaims that *The Ash Wednesday Supper* is a dialogue in which there is a coincidence of contraries. He declares that the text is "so trifling and serious, so grave and waggish, so tragic and comic that I surely believe there will be no few occasions for you to become heroic and humble;

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[84] Ibid, pp. 119-120.
[85] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 91.
[86] Feldhay and Ophir, 'Heresy and Hierarchy', p. 120.

master and disciple".[87] In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* "The Nolan" is presented as the embodiment of supreme reason and through a carnivalesque fusion of bathetic reduction and philosophical dialogue and interrogation the "ancient and true philosophy" that can effect a reconciliation of all contraries is proclaimed.

I have stated that there is no trace of any of the philosophical and cosmological disputations of *The Ash Wednesday Supper* in *The Day of the Rabblement*. However, I would argue that this text, like *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, does occupy a significant vestigial presence in Joyce's attack on the Irish Literary Theatre in *The Day of the Rabblement*. As Copernicus is presented as a prophetic precursor of "the Nolan" in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* so, it can be argued, Joyce arrogantly prophesies that Ibsen is his own precursor; he, Joyce, is "the third minister [who] will not be found wanting when his hour comes." Although the imagery that Joyce employs to denounce the ignobility of the "cultivated" and the "uncultivated" Irish multitude is gleaned from *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, I would suggest that the manner in which Joyce arrogates the right to authorise a discursive position from which he can effect such a denunciation is derived from *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. I would also suggest that the process by which Stephen is constructed as an heretical outsider engaged in an attritional discursive campaign against the contemporary "social order" (*Letters II* 48) in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* can also be attributed to his reading of these ethical dialogues. The manner in which the solitary "lover of the true or the good" struggles with the "rabblement" in Bruno's ethical dialogues can be seen to resonate in the novel that Joyce composed between 1904 and 1914, and Joyce's covert attachment to the

[87] Ibid, p. 67.

anathematised Bruno is a powerful signification of his heretical intent in *A Portrait*.

IV: Conclusion

As I have already stated in this thesis, there can be no real appraisal of the subversive, or heretical, nature of Joyce's critical negotiations with contemporary Catholicism in his texts if there is not first an understanding of the conditions of discursive constraint. In this chapter I have attempted to explore the "explosive force" of *The Day of the Rabblement* through an examination of the discursive context in which this text was enunciated, and an elaboration of the heretical intertexts that have a vestigial presence in this pamphlet.

It is unlikely that either the middle-class Catholic students of University College or the college authorities were cognisant of the allusions and references that Joyce made in *The Day of the Rabblement* to his heretical *auctoritas*, Giordano Bruno. However, the manner in which Joyce attacked the Irish Literary Theatre and defined "his position to himself and against others — *contra Gentiles*", did rouse the consternation of his fellow students and the censure of the college authorities. As Stanislaus Joyce writes in *My Brother's Keeper*:

> The article was written for *St. Stephen's* magazine and rejected by a member of staff, Arthur Clery, who alleged unalterable censorship. Without wasting time on Clery, my brother went hot-foot to the fountainhead, the rector of the University. He was chasing a shadow. The rector, nominally responsible, was

> amicable, but seemed to know little about the matter. He had not read the article. The incident was true in miniature to the pattern of clerical control everywhere. The nominal head is bland and sympathetic while his subordinates have a free hand for their silent work of suppression. (*MBK* 151-152)

Joyce was determined to see *The Day of the Rabblement* in print, and he arranged for it to be published privately in a "pink-covered brochure of a few pages" (*MBK* 152), alongside an article by Francis Skeffington, 'A Forgotten Aspect of the University Question', which advocated the admission of women to University College and which had also fallen foul of the censorship of the college authorities. As Stanislaus Joyce notes, *The Day of the Rabblement* "got more publicity than if it had not been censored [...] for he and I distributed it to the newspapers and people in Dublin that my brother wished see it." (*MBK* 152) A review of the pamphlet appeared in *The United Irishman* on November 2, 1901. The reviewer (F. J. F.) attacks Joyce's assertions about the Irish Literary Theatre as "grossly unjust",[88] and argues that the production of European masterpieces on the Dublin stage was simply not a commercially viable enterprise. However, he does censure the manner in which Father Delany had suppressed the articles by Joyce and Skeffington, and hopes that they will be read by a wider audience. Stanislaus Joyce observes that the private publication and distribution of *The Day of the Rabblement* provoked a comment in the following number of *St. Stephen's* magazine that was "apparently addressed to the students of the College but [which was] fitter for the urchins of a National School." (*MBK*

[88] *The United Irishman*, November 2, 1901; cited in *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 158.

153) In this review Joyce is attacked roundly for his disparagement of the Irish Literary Theatre and the cultured and the uncultured Irish rabblement, and for his advocacy of an un-didactic dramatic form that did not reproduce the moral and religious teachings of Catholicism. The reviewer, whom Ellmann suggests was Hugh Boyle Kennedy, the editor of *St. Stephen's*, defends the Irish rabblement and lauds the manner in which it has remained in thrall to the moral and religious guidance of the Church:

> Now, as we understand the Literary Theatre, its object was to *educate* a vulgarised public, in a word, to rescue the Irish rabblement from the influences which, from the point of view of the artist, were working havoc. But this rabblement clung to a standard of morality — the tradition of the Catholic Church, the ethical teaching of Christendom. For a spiritual life based thereon it had sacrificed material prosperity and well-being, and it now showed itself willing, in the same interest, to forego all that art might add to the surroundings of life. So it happened that when this rabblement protested against "Countess Cathleen," our fellow students approved and supported the protest. Mr. Joyce alone, to our knowledge, stood aloof. If Mr. Joyce thinks that the artist must stand apart from the multitude, and means that he must also sever himself from the moral and religious teachings which have, under Divine guidance, moulded its spiritual character, we join

> issue with him, and we prophesy but ill-success for any school which offers an Irish public art based upon such a principle.[89]

The reviewer neither detects the heretical trace of Bruno's ethical dialogues in *The Day of the Rabblement*, nor describes Joyce's conception of literary art as one that is an heretical departure from orthodox Catholic moral and religious teaching; however, the imputation of heresy is implicit. In *The Day of the Rabblement* Joyce signifies his profound alienation from the moral and religious strictures of contemporary Catholicism that are the touchstone for the intellectual positions held by his fellow-students at University College. According to Viswanathan in *Outside the Fold* such a public declaration of dissent or departure from the religious practices and doctrines of contemporary Irish Catholicism is an inherently heretical textual act. The reviewer implicitly acknowledges the heretical nature of Joyce's utterance by prophesying "ill-success for any school which offers an Irish public" an art form that is not subservient to the didactic requirements of contemporary Catholic moral and religious teaching. I would suggest that this episode exemplifies the degree to which the enunciation of Joyce's texts cannot be distinguished from the historical moment of their production, and is illustrative of the extent to which these textual utterances are always embroiled in a discursive struggle with contemporary Catholicism.

The presence of the "covert authority" of Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement* was not initially recognised, and criticism has customarily read the reference to Bruno and the allusions to the ethical dialogues as merely superficial and an instance of Joyce's youthful arrogance. In this chapter I have attempted

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[89] *St. Stephen's*, 24, December 1901; cited ibid, p. 159.

to demonstrate that both Joyce's employment of Bruno as an heretical *auctoritas*, and the covert presence of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* and *The Ash Wednesday Supper* in *The Day of the Rabblement* is of significance. It is an indication of the extent to which Joyce conceived of his struggle with the discursive formations of Edwardian Ireland as an heretical one. It can be argued that this elaboration of the significance of the presence of Bruno's ethical Italian dialogues in Joyce's attack on the Irish Literary Theatre is an excessive example of what Beckett terms "literary criticism" as "book-keeping." However, there has been no extensive appraisal of the nature of Joyce's youthful encounter with "the heresiarch martyr of Nola" and no discussion of the manner in which this encounter can be seen to have informed Joyce's discursive struggle with contemporary Catholicism. In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate that Joyce's attachment to Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement* is a calculated heretical alignment and cannot be dismissed as a superficially blasphemous affront to orthodox Catholicity.

Chapter Four:

'The thorny crown of the heretic': Giordano Bruno and the Construction of Stephen Daedalus as a Heretic in James Joyce's *Stephen Hero.*

> To any priests who question me about Jim, I shall say he is studying explosive chemistry preparatory to inventing a new torpedo, and a little later that he is writing a novel.
>
> Stanislaus Joyce, 3 April 1904, *The Dublin Diary*[1]

> Stephen had begun to regard himself seriously as a literary artist: he professed scorn for the rabblement and contempt for authority.
>
> James Joyce, *Stephen Hero* (*SH* 127)

I: Introduction

On 29 August 1904, a mere month before their elopement to Pola and, significantly, at a time when he was beginning to work on the novel that would eventually become *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, James Joyce wrote a distressed and brutally honest letter to Nora Barnacle:

> I may have pained you tonight by what I said but surely it is well that you should know my mind on most things? My mind rejects the whole present social order and Christianity — home, the recognised virtues, classes of life, and religious doctrines. How could I like the idea of home? My home was simply a middle-class affair ruined by spendthrift habits which I have inherited. My mother was slowly killed, I think, by my father's ill-treatment, by years of trouble, and by my cynical frankness of

[1] *The Dublin Diary of Stanislaus Joyce*, ed. George Harris Healey (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 38.

> conduct. When I looked on her face in her coffin — a face grey and wasted with cancer — I understood that I was looking on the face of a victim and I cursed the system which had made her a victim. My brothers and sisters are nothing to me. One brother alone is capable of understanding me.
>
> Six years ago I left the Catholic Church, hating it most fervently. I found it impossible for me to remain in it on account of the impulses of my nature. I made secret war upon it when I was a student and declined to accept the positions it offered me. By doing this I made myself a beggar but retained my pride. Now I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do. I cannot enter the social order except as a vagabond. (*Letters II* 48)

It is difficult to discuss the radical and subversive nature of Joyce's texts without making some reference to the biographical details of his life. His struggle to realise a mode of existence that was neither sanctified nor regulated by religious or secular authority, by the "priest and the king", (*U* 15: 4437) is as radical and innovative as his struggle to forge a modernistic mode of expression that would be capable of "giving a shape and significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history."[2] He was an Irish Catholic who declared that he could no longer brook the "very troublesome burden of belief which my father and my mother superimposed on me". (*Letters II* 89) In so doing, Joyce necessarily alienated himself as an "heretic or an outlaw" (*P* 267) in Edwardian Ireland. As I have argued previously in this thesis, Joyce's wilful

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[2] T. S. Eliot, '*Ulysses*, Order, and Myth', *The Dial*, November, 1923; in *Selected Prose*, ed. Frank Kermode (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 177.

and conscious adoption of the role of the heretic, and his employment of Giordano Bruno as an heretical *auctoritas* during the 1900s, was neither simply an act of undergraduate hubris nor an instance of effortless blasphemy. His heretical alignment cannot be regarded as an instance of mere rhetorical posturing. In his attempt to realise a mode of existence that was unsanctioned by the moral precepts of Mother Church, and in his struggle to forge a mode of expression that engaged critically with the absolutist and medievalist anti-intellectualism of contemporary Ultramontane Catholicism, Joyce made the precarious decision of making himself an outcast. And, I would argue, the attempt to establish such an heretical site of opposition was, in part, necessitated by the powerful, yet ambivalent, position that the Roman Catholic Church occupied, as a material and discursive force, in Edwardian Ireland. As Cranly says to Stephen in Chapter XXI of *Stephen Hero*, "But here in Ireland by following your new religion of unbelief you may be crucifying yourself like Jesus — only socially not physically." (*SH* 145) For Joyce, as for Stephen, the hegemony of the Church was a reality that was not to be thought away, and any attempt to effect a sundering with the Catholicism of his upbringing and education would necessitate the occupation of an heretical discursive site.

In 'State of the Art: Joyce and Postcolonialism' in *Semicolonial Joyce*, Emer Nolan chooses to interpret Joyce's declaration to Nora Barnacle that he could not "enter the social order except as a vagabond" as a signification of Joyce's "evident hostility towards all political formations — including both the British state in Ireland, and the twenty-six county independent Irish state which emerged after 1922".[3] I would not dispute the critical validity of reading "Joyce

[3] Emer Nolan, 'State of the Art: Joyce and Postcolonialism', *Semicolonial Joyce*, eds. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 78.

as a postcolonial writer."[4] However, I would argue that in those recent historicist readings of Joyce that have assimilated the theoretical paradigms of postcolonialism, the powerful position that the Roman Catholic Church occupied in the Irish social formation, as a material and a discursive force, has largely been neglected, or it is merely acknowledged as an oppressive ecclesiastical institution against which Joyce rebelled.[5] As Terence Brown has argued in *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, "A study of the main developments within Irish Catholicism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries is a prerequisite for any informed understanding of the social and cultural history of modern Ireland."[6] An awareness of the nature of Catholicism during this period is similarly a prerequisite for any historicist appraisal of Joyce's writings. I would suggest that Joyce's engagement with Catholicism is of a greater complexity and of more significance, in terms of his attempt to forge an unfettered Irish consciousness, than his negotiations with the discursive practices of British imperialism and Irish nationalism. His determination to break free from the intimate and binding rights and claims of contemporary Catholicism cannot be seen at a remove from those other discursive engagements. However, in reading recent postcolonial criticism of Joyce it would seem that his determination to fly by the entangling nets of "nationality, language, religion" (*P* 220) has overcomplicated the theoretical paradigms of postcolonialism, and Joyce's struggle with the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland has not received adequate critical analysis. Accordingly, it is Joyce's discursive struggle

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[4] Ibid, p. 78.
[5] See Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern 'Ulysses'* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995); Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[6] Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History: 1922-1985* (London: Fontana, 1985), p. 27.

with contemporary Catholicism, and not his critical engagement with British imperialism and Irish nationalism, that is "seldom articulated with much analytical force"[7] in Joyce studies. For Stephen Daedalus in *Stephen Hero*, as for Joyce, the hegemony of the authoritarian Catholic Church was infinitely more pervasive and invidious than the discursive practices of British imperialism and Irish nationalism, and he expresses a haughty contempt for those individual Irish Catholic subjects who acquiesce in a condition of spiritual paralysis:

> The Roman, not the Sassenach, was for him the tyrant of the islanders: and so deeply had that tyranny eaten into all souls that the intelligence, first overborne so arrogantly, was now eager to prove that arrogance its friend. The watchcry was Faith and Fatherland, a sacred word in that world of cleverly inflammable enthusiasms. (*SH* 57-58)

In Chapter XXII of *Stephen Hero* Stephen reflects on the powerful hegemony that the Church enjoys in the Irish social formation, and the degree to which this powerful hegemony intensifies the feeling of alienation among those Irish Catholics who have rejected the Church of their upbringing and education:

> That kind of Christianity which is called Catholicism seemed to him to stand in his way and forthwith he removed it. He had been brought up in the belief of the Roman supremacy and to cease to be a Catholic for him meant to cease to be a Christian. The idea

[7] Ibid, p. 78.

> that the power of an empire is weakest at its borders requires some modification for everyone knows that the Pope cannot govern Italy as he governs Ireland nor is the Tsar as terrible an engine to the tradesmen of S. Petersburg as he is to the little Russian of the Steppes. [...] The bands of pilgrims who are shepherded safely across the continent by their Irish pastors must shame the jaded reactionaries of the eternal city by their stupefied intensity of worship [...] Though it is evident on the one hand that this persistence of Catholic power in Ireland must intensify very greatly the loneliness of the Irish Catholic who voluntarily outlaws himself yet on the other hand the force which he must generate to propel himself out of so strong and intricate a tyranny may often be sufficient to place him beyond the region of re-attraction. (*SH* 152)

In this thesis I am concerned with examining the manner in which Joyce himself attempted to generate the force that was necessary to extricate himself from the powerful hegemony of the Church in the Irish social formation. He was an apostate who was unable to realise philosophical certitude and spiritual or mystical sustenance in the Ultramontane and Jansenist form of Catholicism dominant in Edwardian Ireland; and he was also an anticlericalist who evinced opposition to the political and social influence that the Church exerted in the Irish social formation. As I have argued, Joyce's attempt to establish an heretical discursive site should not be interpreted as an effortless act of blasphemy, and his fascination with the life and work of Bruno should not be regarded as simply a

youthful act of diabolic enthusiasm and defiance. I would argue that in his decision to go into "voluntary exile" (*Letters II* 84) on the continent with Nora Barnacle and pursue a peripatetic mode of existence that was an irreligious affront to the writ of ecclesiastical authority, and in his employment of Bruno as an heretical *auctoritas* in his discursive struggle with the Church, Joyce was actively seeking to make himself an anathema for Catholic orthodoxy and thus situate himself irredeemably beyond the sphere of the Church's hegemony.

In Chapter 3 I argued that Joyce's attack on the Irish Literary Theatre in *The Day of the Rabblement* can be regarded as the first of his "explosives", (*SH* 86) and the text in which he first signified the heretical intent of his intellectual and artistic thought. As Jean-Michel Rabaté has noted, *The Day of the Rabblement* is also the text in which Joyce first employs the "covert authority"[8] of Bruno. That is, Bruno occupies a subtextual presence in Joyce's early writings that signifies his opposition to contemporary Catholicism. The textual trace of the anathematised Bruno functions as an heretical rag to a papal bull. As I have suggested, the excoriating manner in which Joyce enunciates his discursive assault on the anti-intellectual and anti-modernist bourgeois Catholic morality of Edwardian Dublin is, in part, attributable to his reading of Bruno's ethical Italian dialogues, in particular *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* and *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. Furthermore, I would suggest that Joyce's enunciation of a Nolan-like discursive attack on the cultured and the uncultured "rabblement" (*CW* 69) in *The Day of the Rabblement* is precursive of the manner in which Stephen is constructed as an heretical outsider who is engaged in a

[8] Jean-Michel Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 10.

discursive struggle with the cultured and the uncultured multitude in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.*

In *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon*, Joseph Kelly argues that there is a need to articulate the radical and subversive nature of Joyce's textual intervention into the discursive environment of Edwardian Ireland. As he notes, Ezra Pound, writing in the *Egoist*, was instrumental in articulating a critical environment in which Joyce's works could be received, and was largely responsible for getting *A Portrait* published in the first place. However, he was also responsible for de-Irishing "Joyce's reputation" and for stripping his "early fiction of its political force".[9] Kelly argues that there is still a need to displace Pound's construction of Joyce as an apolitical international modernist and re-examine the historical moment in which Joyce's writings were originally produced:

> Most of the evidence suggests that before 1914, Joyce believed his main audience was the Dublin middle class. [...] He wrote to improve his country. He felt he was rescuing his own class — the newly enfranchised but economically stagnant, educated urban Catholics — from what he considered a disabling cultural materialism. In 1904 serious Irish writers could not escape the politic battles that saturated Dublin's culture, and Joyce never tried. He wanted his art to have the kind of persuasive effect on readers that we today consider rhetorical as opposed to literary.

[9] Joseph Kelly, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1998), pp. 63-64.

> His weapon — not yet silence, exile, or cunning — was an uncompromising, unromantic, hard-featured realism.[10]

In this chapter I will examine *Stephen Hero* in the context of the historical moment in which this text was produced, and attempt to articulate some of the offensiveness of its critical negotiations with the hegemonic sway of the Catholic Church in the Irish social formation. In *James Joyce*, Richard Ellmann describes the theme of the novel that Joyce began in 1904 under the title of *Stephen Hero*, and which, after extensive revision, would be eventually published serially in the *Egoist* between 1914 and 1916 as *A Portrait*, as "the portrait of the renegade Catholic artist as hero", (*JJ* 148) and *A Portrait* is the text in which Joyce most clearly signifies his attempt to effect an heretical rupture with the hegemony of the Catholic Church in Edwardian Ireland. In this chapter, through an examination of *Stephen Hero*, the abandoned first draft of *A Portrait*, I will explore the manner in which Joyce, having established an heretical discursive position, enunciates his critical attack on contemporary Catholicism. The heretical intent of *Stephen Hero* can be discerned in the covert presence of Bruno's 'Indexed' writings in this text. In *Stephen Hero* Stephen Daedalus is clearly constructed as a Brunonian heretical outsider who is engaged in an antagonistic discursive struggle with a cultured and an uncultured "rabblement". However, when Joyce came to re-write *Stephen Hero* as *A Portrait* in Rome in 1907, the structural relationship that exists between Stephen Dedalus, the alienated and heretical outsider, and the orthodox middle-class Catholic society in Ireland, was to remain, but the allusions and overt textual references to Bruno,

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[10] Ibid, p. 9.

the "Nolan", and the "rabblement" were removed. Nevertheless, as I will argue, *Stephen Hero* is a text that signifies a radical opposition to the powerful hegemony of contemporary Catholicism, and that this opposition is constructed as an heretical discursive engagement.

II: 'Egotism and Effusion': *Stephen Hero*

It is customary to laud Joyce as a literary artist who, in writing *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, has the uncommon distinction of producing only literary masterpieces. However, in the introduction to the first edition of *Stephen Hero*, published posthumously in 1944, Theodore Spencer observes that in 1938 Joyce was inclined to dismiss the original manuscript draft of *A Portrait*, which he, and not the Holy Congregation of the Index, had committed to the flames in 1908 after it had been rejected by the twentieth publisher, as a "schoolboy's production" (*SH* 14) that he had written when he was nineteen or twenty. Indeed, in *My Brother's Keeper* Stanislaus Joyce writes, "in later years [my brother] used to speak of the first draft of *A Portrait of the Artist* as a 'puerile production'." (*MBK* 217-218) It can be argued that the scant regard that Joyce evinced for this abandoned text is wholly justified. The manuscript fragment that is *Stephen Hero* is, perhaps, only of interest as a source document. It certainly lacks the "scrupulous meanness" (*Letters II* 134) of *Dubliners*, and does not possess the strict economy of *A Portrait*, in which the "inner world of individual emotions [is] mirrored in a lucid supple periodic prose". (*P* 181) Furthermore, as Marilyn French has suggested in *The Book as World: James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, "*Stephen Hero* was probably

abandoned because Joyce realized it was overly sentimental, romantic, and pretentious. He injected an ironic tone into *Portrait* to try to undercut its egotism and effusion."[11]

Although it is tempting to cry "Bosh!" and regard *Stephen Hero* as a volitional error committed by a "man of genius" that proved subsequently to be a portal of discovery, (*U* 9:228-29) it is a problematic and unstable text. The eleven chapters and other fragments that constitute this novel are a portion of an original manuscript that apparently sprawled beyond a thousand pages.[12] The extant episodes concern the period in which Stephen Daedalus has passed beyond the "point between boyhood (puerita) and adolescence (adulescentia) — 17 years", (*Letters II* 79) and is a wayward student at University College, Dublin. Although *Stephen Hero* does contain an elucidation of Stephen's "entire science of esthetic", (*SH* 41) and a precise definition of his theory of the epiphany, (*SH* 216-18) the text neither has the epiphanic nor the episodic structure of *A Portrait*. Joyce's eschewal of the 'perverted comma' in *Stephen Hero* does, arguably, disrupt or unsettle the hierarchical relationship that exists between the authoritative narrative voice and the subject dialogue, however the narrative structure is broadly that of traditional realist fiction. It is a text that is modern in substance without being formally modernistic. The structure of *Stephen Hero* is suspect, and the novel does possess a rawness of expression that is absent in Joyce's other writings. Nevertheless, it is a text that is of significant critical interest, particularly for the historicist critic concerned with the appraisal of the nature of Joyce's discursive negotiations with contemporary Catholicism. *Stephen Hero* is a text in which Joyce's hostility towards Catholicism is

[11] Marilyn French, *The World as Book: James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (London: Abacus, 1982), p. 33.

unambiguous and visceral, and this rawness reflects the anger of Joyce's apostasy during the 1900s.

As I have noted, when Joyce declared to Nora Barnacle in August 1904 that he was engaged in an "open war" against the Church of his upbringing and education by what he wrote, and said, and did, he had already begun writing the novel that would eventually be *A Portrait*. In January 1904 Joyce had written a paper entitled 'A Portrait of the Artist' for *Dana*, a new Dublin review that had been created the previous year. In *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Material for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain describe this paper as a "prose work of some two thousand words. It was an unusual work: part manifesto, part narrative; a story with only one character, a portrait without descriptive detail; an attempt to chart 'an individuating rhythm — the curve of an emotion.'"[13] The editors of *Dana*, W. K. Magee and Fred Ryan, objected to the "sexual experiences narrated therein"[14] and refused to publish 'A Portrait of the Artist'. As Stanislaus Joyce notes in *The Dublin Diary* in March 1904, his brother then began to transform this paper into a novel, the title of which — *Stephen Hero* — was suggested by Stanislaus himself.[15] When Joyce left Dublin with Nora for Pola in October 1904 he brought the manuscript of this novel with him and, according to a letter that he wrote to Stanislaus on 20 October 1904, he had already written the first twelve chapters of *Stephen Hero* (*Letters II* 67). In the letters that Joyce wrote to Stanislaus from Pola and Trieste from 1904 to 1906 he gives a fairly precise,

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[12] In February 1906, Joyce informed Grant Richards: "I have written a thousand pages of a novel [*Stephen Hero*]" (*Letters I* 75).
[13] *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Material for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, eds. Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 56.
[14] *The Dublin Diary of Stanislaus Joyce*, p. 25.

albeit cursory, account of the progress he had made with *Stephen Hero*. It is evident from these letters that Joyce wrote the novel extremely quickly; for example, on 15 March 1905 he states, "I have finished Chapters XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII and will send them if you like. The U. College episode will take about ten chapters" (*Letters II* 86); on 4 April 1905 he writes, "I have now finished another chapter and am at Chapter XX (*Letters II* 87); and, on 7 June 1905 he notes, "Have now finished Chapter XXIV" (*Letters II* 91).[16] I would suggest that the remarkable rapidity with which Joyce wrote *Stephen Hero* is of some interest and may, perhaps, partly account for the overweening "egotism and effusion" of the text and the extent of the Brunonian presence therein. *Stephen Hero*, Joyce's first major literary endeavour, is a text that was produced rapidly and under difficult circumstances, and its "overly sentimental, romantic, and pretentious" tenor can, arguably, be attributed to the pressures that accompanied the first years of Joyce's "open war" against the Church.

An extensive account of the biographical circumstances of Joyce during the period in which the manuscript of *Stephen Hero* was completed is beyond the scope of this chapter and, indeed, this period of Joyce's life has been thoroughly documented by Ellmann in *James Joyce*. However, it should be noted that the life that Joyce and Nora Barnacle enjoyed together in Pola, Trieste, Rome, and Trieste again, in the years before the First World War was both precarious and peripatetic. Changes of address were frequent, and Joyce's employment as an English language teacher in Pola and Trieste, and as a bank clerk in Rome, was scarcely sufficient to support his young family (Giorgio was born in July 1905 and Lucia was born in July 1907). The pressure of these domestic and financial

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[15] Ibid, p. 25.
[16] The manuscript of *Stephen Hero* draws to a fragmentary close during Chapter XXVI.

circumstances was compounded by the difficulties that Joyce encountered in his laboured efforts to give birth to the "child which I [have] carried for years and years in the womb of my imagination", (*Letters II* 308) as he declared of *A Portrait* in a letter that he wrote to Nora from Dublin in August 1912. When Joyce witnessed the annual procession in honour of the Nolan at the Campo dei Fiori in Rome in February 1907 he wrote, "The spectacle of the procession in honour of the Nolan left me quite cold. I understand that anti-clerical history probably contains a large percentage of lies but this is not enough to drive me back howling to my gods." (*Letters II* 217) This would seem to suggest that by the time that he re-cast *Stephen Hero* as *A Portrait* Joyce was no longer as interested in the anticlericalist lionisation of Bruno as he had been hitherto, and had ceased to broadcast his attachment to the anathematised Bruno as a deliberate heretical affront to Catholic orthodoxy. Nevertheless, the extent of the Brunonian presence in *Stephen Hero*, and the manner in which Bruno is employed as an heretical *auctoritas* in this text, suggests that the enthusiasm that Joyce evinced for Bruno in 1901, when he attacked the Irish Literary Theatre in *The Day of the Rabblement*, persisted throughout his first years of "voluntary exile" on the continent. As I will demonstrate, the Brunonian presence in *Stephen Hero* is relatively extensive, and is intimately connected with Joyce's attempt to generate an heretical discursive position that would allow him to extricate himself from the powerful hegemony of the Church. I would suggest that it is difficult to appraise the nature of Joyce's declaration of 1904 to wage "open war" against the Church by what he writes, and says, and does, without examining the nature of his engagement with Bruno. Furthermore, the Brunonian presence in *Stephen Hero* has hitherto received little critical attention.

III: 'A deviant insider': Stephen Daedalus and University College, Dublin.

The "covert authority" of two of Bruno's 'Indexed' texts is employed in *Stephen Hero*: *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* and *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. As in *The Day of the Rabblement*, where Joyce refers to the cultured and the uncultured "rabblement" of Dublin as "*la bestia Trionfante*", (*CW* 70) there is an overt reference to *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* in *Stephen Hero*.[17] This overt reference occurs in Chapter XXIII of the text. Stephen Daedalus recalls that his Italian tutor, Father Artifoni, had reproved him "once for an admiring allusion to the author of *The Triumphant Beast*", and stated that, "You know [...] the writer, Bruno, was a terrible heretic"; to which Stephen replies dryly, "Yes [...] and he was terribly burned." (*SH* 175) Stephen's "admiring allusion to the author of *The Triumphant Beast*", during a period in which the name and legacy of Bruno had been lionised by the forces of Italian anticlericalism in their struggle with a reactionary and Ultramontane Vatican, can be seen as a signification of his opposition to contemporary Catholicism. Moreover, it might also be considered as a covert indication that *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* occupies a significant subtextual presence in *Stephen Hero*. As I have noted in Chapter 3, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, an Italian ethical dialogue of 1585, was first read as an allegorical attack on the papacy. It was regarded as the most spiritually dangerous of all of Bruno's

[17] There is a solitary reference to Ireland in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. In the Third Part of the First Dialogue the conclave of gods, over which Jove presides, decide to cast down the "terrible Dragon", the symbolic representation of ferocity, from the constellations of heaven and replace it with Prudence. Momus, the religious-ethical conscience of the gods, suggests that this "useless beast" who is "better dead than alive" should be sent "to graze either in Hibernia or on

philosophical writings, and as Arthur D. Imerti has noted in the introduction to his 1964 translation of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, it contains all that is most heretical in the Nolan's texts — the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, his pantheistic conception of an infinite universe of infinite worlds, and his celebration of the mystical Hermeticism of the ancient Egyptians. Furthermore, it was the only one of Bruno's heretical texts, all of which were placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books* after his death at the stake in 1600, to be singled out by the Roman Inquisition at his trial. However, as I have argued in relation to the Brunonian elements that can be discerned in *The Day of the Rabblement* in Chapter 3, the Brunonian presence in *Stephen Hero* is primarily derived from Joyce's reading of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, and is restricted to the manner in which Joyce constructs the structural relationship that exists in the text between Stephen and contemporary Irish society. It could be argued that Joyce's critical appraisal of the powerful hegemony of the Catholic Church in the Irish social formation is redolent of the manner in which Bruno attacks the corruption of the social and religious institutions of his day in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. Moreover, it could be suggested that in Stephen's insistence that literary art should be adequate to the reality of lived existence ("what I say I see about me" (*SH* 69)), and in his defence of Henrik Ibsen's "examination of corruption" (*SH* 96) in his drama, there can be discerned a possible echo of Sophia's declaration in the Second Part of the Second Dialogue of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* that the gods "take delight in the multiform representation of all things" because "they are pleased with all things that exist [in nature] and with all representations that are made; they are no less

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the Orkneys". See Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, trans. Arthur D. Imerti (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), p. 121.

concerned that these should exist, and give orders and permission that they be made." [18] However, I would suggest that Bruno's celebration of "multiform representation" in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, and his conception of a pantheistic universe in which the spiritual is immanent in the corporeal, has a greater resonance in Joyce's heretical aesthetics in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* than it does in either *Stephen Hero* or *A Portrait*. For all his intentions to represent in his verses all that he sees around him, Stephen's conception of art is inherently sacramental in nature. Although Stephen's theory of the "epiphany", the ability of the artist to perceive the universal in the particular, could be regarded as congruent with Bruno's pantheistic affirmation that divinity, "Truth", is immanent in nature ("*natura est deus rebus*"),[19] and that men and women are always thus on the cusp of the divine, it is more redolent of the transcendentalism of orthodox Catholic sacramentalism. While Joyce's appropriation of specific elements of Roman Catholic sacramental theology is certainly profane, his aesthetics, at this time, are not immanentist. In *Stephen Hero*, and *A Portrait*, his prose is not an encyclopaedic medium in which the infinite universe's cyclical processes of motion and change are manifested. The reference to *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* in *Stephen Hero* functions as a heretical trace, and it can be regarded as a means by which Stephen is able to broadcast his opposition to orthodox Catholicism. I would suggest that *The Ash Wednesday Supper* occupies the more significant covert presence in *Stephen Hero*, principally supplying the structural paradigm upon which Stephen's heretical struggle with the Irish "rabblement" is constructed.

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[18] Ibid, p. 160.
[19] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 235.

The Ash Wednesday Supper is an Italian cosmological dialogue of 1584 in which Bruno celebrates Copernicus's theory of a finite heliocentric universe as a metaphoric revolutionary portent of the imminent and universal realisation of the mystical Hermetic religion of the Egyptians, the true "Nolan philosophy"[20] that will reconcile the mutually antagonistic faiths of Catholicism and Protestantism and, thus, presage the coming of a new Golden Age. As I have observed, it is in this cosmological dialogue that Bruno constructs "the Nolan" as a radical and subversive discursive entity who has broken free from the narrow and benighted constraints of the theologico-philosophical system of medieval scholasticism ("the common and vulgar philosophy").[21] In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* "the Nolan" is embroiled in a discursive struggle with the cultured multitude, the "mob",[22] the contemporary scholastic philosophers and theologians who refuse to see with their own eyes, and countenance the true "Nolan philosophy"; he also struggles with the uncultured multitude, "the stupid mob",[23] the mass of ordinary men and women who are complacently in thrall to the scholastic teachings of contemporary Catholicism and Protestantism. As I will demonstrate, in *Stephen Hero* Joyce constructs Stephen Daedalus as an alienated and heretical Nolan-like outsider who is involved in a discursive struggle with contemporary Catholicism. In considering himself a literary artist, Stephen professes "scorn for the rabblement and contempt for authority." (*SH* 127) He struggles with the cultured and the uncultured "rabblement" of Edwardian Ireland. The cultured "rabblement" is the "shivering society" (*SH* 40)

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[20] Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, trans Edward A. Gosselin and Lawrence S. Lerner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1995. First published 1977), p. 69.
[21] Ibid, p. 86.
[22] Ibid, p. 99.
[23] Ibid, p. 86.

of middle-class Catholic students at University College, Dublin, who blindly accept the right of the Church to define the limits in which all intellectual, artistic and political enquiry is to be conducted, and their Jesuit tutors who guarantee that the Ultramontane spirit of contemporary Catholicism prevails within the university. In Chapter XXIV Joyce describes University College as a "day-school full of terrorised boys, [who] toil and labour to insinuate themselves into the good graces of the Jesuits. They adore Jesus, Mary and Joseph: they believe in the infallibility of the Pope and in all his obscene, stinking hells." (*SH* 238) The term cultured "rabblement" is also a synonym for "authority." (*SH* 127) The uncultured "rabblement" is the mass of ordinary Irish men and women, which includes Stephen's family, particularly his pious mother, who adhere to the Catholic faith; who are stupefied wilfully by the communalised practices of the devotional revolution;[24] who acquiesce blindly in the face of clerical control; and who accept uncritically the powerful material and discursive influence of the Church in the Irish social formation. In *Stephen Hero*, Stephen, the young intellectual and aspiring artist, cannot realise philosophical certitude in the narrow and anti-intellectual scholasticism of Ultramontane Catholicism and he

[24] To realise fully the intensity of Joyce's criticism of the spiritual paralysis of the Irish "rabblement" it is necessary to understand the revolution in devotional practice among Irish Catholics during the nineteenth century. As Terence Brown has noted, "Concurrent" with the triumph of Ultramontanism "within the nineteenth-century Irish Catholic Church had occurred a remarkable devotional revolution whereby continental expressions of piety were introduced to an Ireland which adopted them with an astonishing enthusiasm, so that the texture of modern Irish religious life owes much to the period 1850-75 when the revolution was effected. It was in those twenty-five years that the great mass of Irishmen and women were drawn into a secure loyalty to the modern Roman Church and were provided with the symbols and institutions which might confirm, maintain and express that loyalty, which has been a source of wonder to many a commentator on modern Irish affairs. The celebration of the Mass was regularized [...] and new devotions were introduced — the rosary, forty hours, perpetual adoration, novenas, blessed altars, *Via Crucis* [Stations of the Cross], benediction, vespers, devotion to the Sacred Heart and to the Immaculate Conception, jubilees, triduums, pilgrimmages, shrines, processions and retreats. It was the period when popular piety began to express itself in beads, scapulas, religious medals and holy pictures and open religious feeling, as one historian has commented, was 'organized in order to communalize and regularize practice under a spiritual director'." *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, p. 27.

heretically seeks to proffer to his generation, either in his life or in his art, the "gift of certitude". (*SH* 81) He wishes to "express his nature freely and fully for the benefit of a society which he would enrich, and also for his own benefit, seeing that it was part of his life to do so." (*SH* 151) In his attempt to "express his nature freely and fully" he is forced to struggle with the "rabblement" and in so doing he evinces an anticlericalist opposition to the hegemony of the Church in Edwardian Ireland.

The manuscript fragment that is *Stephen Hero* is entirely concerned with Stephen's time as a student at University College, Dublin, at the turn-of-the-century. Stephen's student career occurs during a period in which the Ultramontane Vatican had established a reactionary discursive environment within the Church as a whole. Through the promulgation of the papal encyclical *Aeterni Patris* in 1879 Leo XIII declared the philosophy of Aquinas to be the bedrock of Catholic orthodoxy, and attempted to enforce the finite theologico-philosophical system of late-medieval scholasticism, the very system that Bruno had struggled to overcome, as a bulwark against the pressures and errors of modernity. Such Roman Catholic Modernist theologians as the Dublin-born Jesuit George Tyrrell initially welcomed the neo-Thomist revival, perceiving in Aquinas's speculative philosophy a potentially effective means of bridging the gulf between Catholicism and contemporary critical thought and thus capable of forging a Catholic apologetic adequate to the vagaries of modernity. However, there was to be no reconciliation with contemporary critical thinking. The declaration of papal infallibility in 1870 and the neo-scholastic revival facilitated the creation of a discursive environment within Catholicism which was

medievalist and absolutist. Modernity, and its attendant liberalism and materialism, was declared to be in grave error of the teachings of Mother Church; and in the "*hortus conclusus*"[25] of the medievalist and Ultramontane Vatican, error was to have no rights. Any departure from Catholic orthodoxy was met with the utmost severity, and a relentless campaign was undertaken to silence those Catholic Modernist scholars, lay and clerical, whose thinking dissented from the narrow strictures of the neo-scholasticism of the Church. Offending scholars were dismissed from academic posts in seminaries and Catholic universities; they were forbidden to publish and were forced to submit their writings, including, in some instances, their personal correspondence, to an ecclesiastical censor; their writings were placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books*, which was re-established in 1900, and some individuals, such as George Tyrrell, were ultimately excommunicated as obstinate and unrepentant heretics. This campaign culminated in Pius X's promulgation of *Pascendi dominici gregis* in 1907 that condemned Modernism as "the synthesis of all heresies".[26] As I have noted in Chapter 3, University College, Dublin, can be viewed as a relatively accurate microcosmic representation of the discursive environment that prevailed within Catholicism during this period. Under the provisions of the University Act (Ireland) of 1879 University College, like the other constituent colleges of the Royal University, was unable to provide a curriculum that was specifically Catholic in ethos, and made no contribution to the neo-scholastic revival. However, this Jesuit-administered institution did possess a distinct

[25] Gabriel Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 189.
[26] Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 7.

Catholic *esprit de corps* that reflected the authoritarian and anti-intellectual disposition of the Ultramontane Irish hierarchy.

In William T. Noon's 1957 study *Joyce and Aquinas* there exists an excellent and comprehension discussion of the Thomistic nature of Joyce's aesthetics. He notes that Joyce's encounter with Aquinas did not occur within an institutional environment, and was largely the result of his own independent reading and research. While he acknowledges that Joyce's aesthetics cannot ultimately be defined as Thomistic, he neither discusses the importance of Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni patris* of 1879, nor does he take the opportunity to speculate on the potentially subversive nature of Joyce's appropriation of the philosophy of the Angelic Doctor. He does not discuss the intellectual crisis within Catholicism during the nineteenth century that precipitated the Roman magisterium's decision to defiantly issue the cry, "Back to Thomas."[27] Noon does suggest a context for Joyce's engagement with Aquinas, however, the context that he suggests is one that is purely literary and aesthetic and lacking in any reference to the broader intellectual climate. He discusses the neo-Thomist movement and the attempt by certain Catholic scholars to derive an aesthetic theory from Aquinas and scholasticism. He conjectures that it is "most likely" that Joyce had read work by the "distinguished Thomist scholar Cardinal Mercier, one of the leading lights of the subsequent Neo-Thomist revival at Louvain," in the *Revue néo-scholastique*.[28] He also refers to Jacques Maritain. Maritain was born in 1882, the same year as Joyce, and though he was brought

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[27] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 165.

[28] William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 20. After the promulgation of *Pascendi dominic gregis* in 1907, and in response to an attack on Roman Catholic Modernism by Cardinal Mercier, George Tyrrell published a defence of Modernism and a critque of scholasticism: *Medievalism: A Reply to Cardinal Mercier* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908).

up in liberal bourgeois Protestant circles in Paris, he converted to Catholicism in 1906, and discovered in the integralist mode of vision of scholasticism a philosophical means of countering the materialism that he saw as prevalent in French intellectual life. Maritain's *Art et Scholastique* was first translated into English in 1923 by John O'Connor as *The Philosophy of Art*. In her exemplary study of the Anglo-Welsh artist and writer David Jones, *David Jones: Mythmaker*, Elizabeth Ward observes that O'Connor's abridged and "eccentric" edition had considerable influence on the thinking of such artists and intellectuals as Jones and Eric Gill in Welsh and English Catholic circles during the 1920s and 1930s.[29] As Ward notes, there was serious reservation amongst the Catholic hierarchy at such attempts to reconcile Aquinas and scholasticism with contemporary aesthetic theory. In the opinion of Cardinal Bourne, Tom Burns, a close friend of Jones, in his concern to identify parallels and connections between the neo-Thomism of Maritain and the paintings and Amedeo Modigliani and Henri Matisse, "was a very dangerous young man."[30] Ecclesiastical authority could brook no attempt to reconcile its ahistorical theologico-philosophical system with contemporary culture, even among those traditionalist and rightist avant-garde intellectuals and writers, who, unlike Joyce, wholeheartedly accepted the "premisses of scholasticism", and gave their intellectual assent to the transcendental order which the Church elucidated rationally.

Noon's study of Joyce and Aquinas is unsurpassed, and is extremely discerning in its discussion of Joyce's limited exposure to scholasticism during

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[29] Elizabeth Ward, *David Jones: Mythmaker* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 34.

[30] Robert Speight, *The Property Basket: Recollections of a Divided Life* (London, 1970), p. 161; cited in ibid, p. 43.

the course of his Jesuit education, and in its account of the attempts by certain neo-Thomists to realise a Thomistic aesthetic at this time. However, in omitting a discussion of the intellectual crisis within Catholicism that led the Ultramontane Roman hierarchy to endorse a return to a narrow and ahistorical construction of scholasticism, Joyce's unorthodox appraisal of Aquinas is deprived of the context that would signify its radical nature. Rather than an act of "intellectual terrorism",[31] Joyce's attempt to smuggle a revolutionary modern aesthetic "under the cape of the Doctor Angelicus",[32] is interpreted merely as being not ultimately Thomistic.

Stephen is presented in *Stephen Hero* as a youthful apostate who has "abandoned his Madonna", (*SH* 41) and for whom "the episode of religious fervour was fast becoming a memory". (*SH* 35) However, he is still immersed deeply in the Catholicism in which he can no longer give his intellectual assent, and he is located in an institutional and cultural milieu in which the narrow anti-intellectualism of Ultramontane Catholicism predominates. In Chapter XXV of the text, one of the "ambassadors" (*SH* 210) who is sent by the Church to lure Stephen back into the fold of orthodoxy, solicits him to "Make one with us on equal terms. In temper and mind you are still a Catholic. Catholicism is in your blood." (*SH* 211) As Joyce writes in 'A Portrait of the Artist', shorn of his religious faith and yet not in a position to effect a full sundering from that faith, Stephen is "dispossessed and necessitous."[33] Unable to give his intellectual

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[31] Julian Wolfreys, '*Stephen Hero*: Laughing in-and-at-the Institution', *Re: Joyce: Text: Culture: Politics*, eds. John Brannigan, Geoff Ward and Julian Wolfreys (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 66.
[32] Umberto Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, trans. Ellen Esrock (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1982), p. 6.
[33] James Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist', *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 63.

assent to the theologico-philosophical system of Catholicism, he is compelled to apprehend a mode of existential certitude on his own terms. However, he has yet to generate sufficient force to extricate himself fully from the hegemonic sway of the Church and declare openly his apostasy; he is forced to conceptualise the language and form of his intellectual revolt in the traditions of Catholicism itself, and discover exemplary heretical figures in the interstices of its ecclesiastical history. Like the Stephen of *A Portrait*, Stephen Daedalus's mind is supersaturated with the religion in which he avows secretly his disbelief; and he evinces a complex, if not perverse, attraction towards the Catholicism that he is struggling to repudiate. In Chapter XXI of *Stephen Hero* Stephen says to Cranly:

> I am product of Catholicism. I was sold to Rome before my birth. Now I have broken my slavery but I cannot in a moment destroy every feeling in my nature. That takes time. (*SH* 144)

In *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism*, Lester R. Kurtz describes such Modernist scholars as George Tyrrell as "deviant insiders".[34] This phrase is an extremely useful means of describing the ambiguous relationship that exists between those men and women who adopt a discursive position that is at odds with the broader religious communion of which they are a part, and it helps qualify the tension that exists between individual subversion or dissent and institutional containment. I would suggest that Stephen, like Bruno and Tyrrell, can be regarded as a "deviant insider". Alienated from the religion that functions as an integral and cohesive force in the

[34] Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 2.

constituting narratorial practices of Irish nationalism, Stephen is forced to assume the position of an internal exile, an "heretic or an outlaw", in his quest for intellectual and artistic liberty. In his struggle to resist the rights and claims of Mother Church and realise an individuated subjectivity and attain artistic freedom, he makes profane use of liturgical forms, biblical and patristic sources, and he occupies the site of the heretic with a diabolic enthusiasm and defiance. Significantly, Stephen adopts the mask of the Nolan-like obstinate and unrepentant heretic at a time when an Ultramontane Vatican was prosecuting a repressive campaign against those Catholic scholars, lay and clerical, who dissented from the neo-scholastic doctrine and teaching of Catholic orthodoxy. Furthermore, Stephen's attachment to "the heresiarch martyr of Nola" (*CW* 132) occurs during a period in which the name of the anathematised Bruno was still capable of eliciting black ink from the forces of Catholic reaction, and had been appropriated by anticlericalist discourse in Italy.

As Seamus Deane has noted in 'Joyce the Irishman' in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, Stephen, like Joyce himself, envisages his struggle against contemporary Catholicism as a "revolt of the artist heretic against official doctrine."[35] In *Stephen Hero*, a text that was produced during a period in which the Vatican condemned any departure from a narrowly defined neo-Thomistic orthodoxy as heretical, Stephen profanely appropriates the philosophical writings of Aquinas. He mischievously exhibits a "genuine predisposition in favour of all but the premisses of scholasticism" and attempts to forge an aesthetic theory ("applied Aquinas") that would be capable of legitimising an undidactic literary art form that is scrupulously attentive to the reality of lived experience. (*SH* 81)

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[35] Seamus Deane, 'Joyce the Irishman', *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 46.

He is locked in a struggle with his authoritarian Jesuit tutors and the broader intellectual climate of provincial and philistine conformity that they have engendered in the "sycophants and hypocrites" of University College who obediently "toe the line". (*SH* 146) Stephen refuses to toe the authoritarian line and surrender his will to the "rabblement", and expresses contempt for those who have "leagued themselves together in a conspiracy of ignobility". (*SH* 32) In his attempt to articulate such a profane aesthetic theoretical discourse within the institutional boundaries of the Jesuit-administered University College, Stephen, with some degree of egotism and hubris, occupies the oppositional and subversive site of the heretic.

The episode in the text in which this conflict between Stephen and the cultured "rabblement" of University College is dramatically manifested concerns his presentation of a paper entitled 'Art and Life' to the Literary and Historical Society of the college. Stephen delivers his paper in Chapter XX of *Stephen Hero*, and, as I will demonstrate, in the preceding five chapters of the text Stephen is constructed gradually as a Nolan-like subversive figure who is engaged in the covert enunciation of an heretical discourse. During the period in which he is preparing to deliver a paper on Henrik Ibsen that would contain "a maximum of explosive force", (*SH* 53) Stephen has a number of salutary encounters with the cultured and the uncultured "rabblement" of Edwardian Dublin. For example, Stephen has significant meetings with Wells, a student at the Dublin diocesan seminary in Clonliffe, and with "The Very Reverend Dr Dillon", (*SH* 94) the college president. These encounters serve to emphasise the dispiriting intellectual climate of Dublin in which a narrow moralism, philistinism and a complacent deferral to the authoritarian tenor of contemporary

Catholicism is triumphant. The benighted nature of the "rabblement" is laid bare, and the Nolan-like isolation and attributes of Stephen are gradually disclosed.

Although he has internally affirmed "His Nego",[36] his denial of the rights and claims of the Church, Stephen maintains a relationship with his priestly superiors and teachers which is outwardly respectful and cordial, and he is reluctant to "debate scandal" with either his tutors or his fellow-students: "Stephen was quick enough to see that he must disentangle his affairs in secrecy and reserve had ever been a light penance for him." (*SH* 35) He is a "deviant insider" who has yet to enunciate his heretical discursive assault on the Church. Nevertheless, in the intimate third-person narrative voice of the text, Stephen has commenced his "secret war" upon the Church, and has begun to imaginatively conceptualise the nature of his opposition to contemporary Catholicism. Alienated from the crass philistinism and narrow anti-intellectualism of University College, Stephen makes a performative virtue of his isolation. He cultivates the self-image of a libertine ("the face was to a certain extent the face of a debauchee" (*SH* 29)),[37] and he conceives of his artistic role as one of

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[36] James Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist', *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 67.

[37] Joyce does not depict the "debauchee" Stephen availing himself of the services of prostitutes in *Stephen Hero*, and the only episode in the text in which he attempts to consummate his sexual desire is when he fails spectacularly in his attempt to seduce Emma Clery. However, in a conversation with Lynch in Chapter XXIV, Stephen, with characteristic misogyny, does attempt to defend prostitution as no more of a simoniacal exchange than the sacred institution of marriage: a woman's individual subjectivity is othered as singularly corporeal in each instance, and he argues that the degree of exploitation is comparable. Stephen argues that, "A woman's body is a corporal asset of the State: if she traffic with it she must sell it either as a harlot or as a married woman or as a working celibate or as a mistress." (*SH* 207) Joyce's extensive reference to prostitution and to brothels in his writings, particularly in *Ulysses*, exposes the schizophrenic hypocrisy of an Edwardian Irish society in which the sexual puritanism of both Catholicism and Protestantism was so pervasive. Furthermore, it is interesting to note, given Joyce's frank depiction of middle-class Catholic students frequenting brothels in his fiction, that until March 1926, when the Irish Free State closed the establishments on Railway Street and Mabot Street in Dublin, the students of Dublin's universities were able to receive concessionary rates in some of Dublin's brothels. See Anthony Cronin, *Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), p. 135.

oppositional deviancy ("He became a poet with malice aforethought" (*SH* 32)). His intellectual and artistic efforts have yet to elicit any form of censure from ecclesiastical authority, however he fantasises that his clerical superiors have prohibited his work as spiritually dangerous. "In spite of his surroundings Stephen continued his labours of research and all the more ardently since he imagined they had been put under ban." (*SH* 39) Although there is no mention of the *Index of Prohibited Books* in this particular context, there is a clear imputation that Stephen believes that his "labours of research" are sufficiently unsound and erroneous for orthodox Catholicism to warrant being 'Indexed'.

The manuscript of *Stephen Hero* is incomplete and does not include the chapters that covered Stephen's childhood. Nevertheless, it is perhaps permissable to conjecture that, as a Prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Belvedere, like the Stephen Dedalus of *A Portrait*, Stephen Daedalus has previously considered a priestly vocation with the Society of Jesus but has ultimately refused the possibility of attaining "the power of the keys". (*P* 171) Stephen may have rejected Holy Orders and spurned the glorious majesty of the priesthood ("the order of Melchisedec" (*P* 173)), however he arrogates the right to imagine his profane artistic vocation in the terms of a priestly calling, and blasphemously asserts the authority of this profane vocation over the anointed priesthood of the Church. Stephen's disavowal of the rights and claims of the pastors of the Church is made all the more confrontational by his incessant comparison of his profane artistic endeavours with the divine offices of the Church.

> Their Eminences of the Holy College are hardly more scrupulous solitaries during the ballot for Christ's vicar than was Stephen at this time. He wrote a great deal of verse and, in default of any better contrivance, his verse allowed him to combine the offices of penitent and confessor. (*SH* 37)

This "deviant insider" appropriates the outward integrity of the priesthood that he has rejected. He contrasts the isolation that he observes during the composition of his verse with the solitary deliberation of the Church's cardinals during a conclave. He blasphemously displaces the theology of the Sacrament of Confession into a purely secular sphere in imagining that the act of his poetic composition is comparable to the "power of the keys": the divine and mysterious power of the anointed priest of God to bind and loose all sins committed on earth. For orthodox Ultramontane Catholicism, which abjures modernity and its attendant liberalism and materialism, Stephen's determination to realise a literary form adequate to the reality of lived experience constitutes a profane aesthetics of error. In arrogating the right to dispense the contradictory offices of "penitent and confessor" he provocatively signifies the profane nature of his art. In imagining his position as a poet in terms of a priestly vocation, Stephen absolves his verses from stain of sin and assigns the illusion of divine sanction to his art. Error is sacrilegiously recognised and given rights.

IV: 'One of the atheistic writers whom the papal secretary places on the *Index*': Stephen Daedalus and His Struggle with the Rabblement in *Stephen Hero*.

At this juncture in the text Stephen's intellectual revolt against Catholicism is primarily an internal one which has not yet been discursively enunciated. His verses are not published and thus do not enter into a wider discursive environment, and his Luciferian energies are confined to aesthetic and theoretical speculation. His "open war" against the Church has not yet been openly signified. He awaits the arrival of his profane "Eucharist", (*SH* 36) his art, alone and in secrecy. However, in his covert attempt to generate a discursive site that authorises and legitimates his own intellectual and artistic utterances, Stephen can be seen to occupy an oppositional discursive position which, if not yet openly recognised or condemned as heretical, is one that challenges the intellectual hegemony of the Church. As I will argue, such an oppositional position is presented as an enlightened Nolan-like discursive site that seeks to subvert and displace the authority of orthodox Catholicism, and proffer his own generation a radically alternate conception of certitude. However, the "rabblement" of University College, the individual subjects to whom he desires to proffer such a "gift of certitude", are complacently acquiescent in their acceptance of the "Roman tyranny" and regard Stephen with suspicion and hostility. He is perceived as a figure capable of placing them in proximate spiritual danger, and in return Stephen evinces a "tiger-like, insatiable hatred"[38]

[38] *The Dublin Diary of Stanislaus Joyce*, p. 14.

towards his fellow-students, and the Jesuit tutors to whom they have abnegated all responsibility for their intellectual and spiritual development.

> He spurned from before him the stale maxims of the Jesuits and he swore an oath that [never] they should never establish over him an ascendancy. He spurned from before him a world of the higher culture in which there was neither scholarship nor art nor dignity of manners — a world of trivial intrigues and trivial triumphs. Above all he spurned from before him the company of [the] decrepit youth — and he swore an oath that never would they establish with him a compact of fraud. (*SH* 42-43)

It is among this company of "decrepit youth", the middle-class Catholic students of University College, the members of the socio-economic group whom, as Kelly has argued, Joyce believed was his "main audience", that Stephen "enjoyed a reputation." (*SH* 40) Stephen recognises begrudgingly that "the popular University of Ireland" did not lack "an intelligent centre". (*SH* 43) He observes that "Outside the compact body of national revivalists there were here and there students who had certain ideas of their of their own and were more or less tolerated by their fellows", and concedes some respect for the feminist McCann. (*SH* 43) However, for the "shivering society" of the college, the majority of students who are of the "compact body of national revivalists", who move in the cold shadow of their Jesuit tutors, and who are fearful not to transgress the moral precepts of the Church, he is "feared as an infidel". (*SH* 46) In fearing Stephen as an "infidel", an unbeliever, it is evident that his struggle to attain intellectual

and artistic liberty is primarily perceived in religious, not secular, terms. He is regarded as having occupied a position that is an anathema for his orthodox fellow-students. Furthermore, in *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief*, Gauri Viswanathan has argued that in a colonial situation in which a religious faith, which is not the faith of the colonising power, functions as an integral and cohesive force in the narratorial practices of the colonised nation, any act by a colonised individual subject that dissents from the doctrines and practices of the constituting religious faith is considered as an inherently heretical one.[39]

It is Stephen's intellectual and artistic pursuits, particularly his celebration of Ibsen's drama, which elicits suspicion and fear among his fellow-students. It is in this context that Stephen is constructed as a heretic with Nolan-like attributes and virtues, and this construction occurs during his encounters with members of the cultured and the uncultured "rabblement" of Dublin. As I have noted in Chapter 3, in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, "the Nolan", the radical and subversive discursive entity which enunciates Bruno's heretical philosophical and cosmological ideas, is presented as a transgressive individual who has broken free from the finite scholastic theologico-philosophical system of contemporary Catholicism and Protestantism. In the First Dialogue of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, Teofilo, the lover of god, "Truth", who is as close to "the Nolan" as he is to himself, honours "the Nolan" as man who has rejected the "blind vision of vulgar philosophers"[40] and who has dared to see "through his own eyes".[41] He is celebrated as an individual "who has found the way to ascend

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[39] See Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).
[40] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 90.
[41] Ibid, p. 85.

to the sky, compass the circumference of the stars, and leave at his back the convex surface of the firmament".[42]

> Now behold, the man [the Nolan] who has surmounted the air, penetrated the sky, wandered among the stars, passed beyond the borders of the world, [who has] effaced the imaginary walls of the first, eighth, ninth, tenth spheres, and the many more you could add to the tatlings of empty mathematicians and the blind vision of vulgar philosophers.[43]

The transgressive and enlightened nature of "the Nolan" is proclaimed with unfettered hyperbole in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, and it can be argued that some of the "egotism and effusion" that Marilyn French condemns in *Stephen Hero* can be attributed to the Brunonian traces in the text, and the extent to which Stephen is lent Nolan-like virtues.

In the opening sentences of *The Day of the Rabblement*, written in 1901 when he was a student at University College, Joyce declared famously:

> No man, said the Nolan, can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude; and the artist, though he may employ the crowd, is very careful to isolate himself. This radical principle of artistic economy applies specially to a time of crisis, and today when the highest form of art has been preserved by

[42] Ibid, p. 88.
[43] Ibid, p. 90.

> desperate sacrifices, it is strange to see the artist making terms with the rabblement. (*CW* 69)

As I have argued in Chapter 3, this quotation is redolent of a passage in the First Dialogue of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*:

> TEO: Yes, but in the end it is safer to seek the true and the proper outside the mob, because it never contributes anything valuable and worthy. Things of perfection and worth are always found among the few.[44]

Similarly, in *Stephen Hero* Stephen is presented as a Nolan-like artist heretic for whom "Isolation is the first principle of artistic economy." (*SH* 37) He is opposed to "the mob", "the rabblement", and evinces a scornful estimation of the intellectual abilities of his fellow-students and his clerical teachers that is comparable to Bruno's own fierce denunciation of the "fallacies of sophists and the blindness of the common and vulgar philosophy."[45] Stephen's intellectual pride is continuously stung by the moribund and philistine discursive environment of University College, and like "the Nolan", who, in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* beseeches Sir Fulke Greville to not invite those "ignoble, ill-bred persons" whose philosophical methods are "more like those of peasants"[46] to their cosmological disputations, he is unable to conceal his contempt for those who have "leagued themselves together in a conspiracy of ignobility". "The monster in Stephen had lately taken to misbehaving himself and on the least

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[44] Ibid, p. 99-100.
[45] Ibid, p. 100.

provocation was ready for bloodshed. Almost every incident of the day was a goad for him and the intellect had great trouble keeping him within bounds." (*SH* 35) The difficulty that he encounters in keeping his intellect "within bounds" is not revelatory of any identifiable or specific textual moment in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. However, it does echo "the Nolan"'s professed ability to transgress the boundaries of late-medieval scholasticism, and disrupt the finite and hierarchical spheres of Aristotelian-Ptolemaic geocentric cosmology. Such hyperbolic affirmation dwarfs the "egotism and effusion" of *Stephen Hero*, and Stephen is *not* presented as a Brunonian Magus who passes from "heroic enthusiasm to enthusiasm to unite himself with God." (*CW* 134) Unlike "the Nolan", Stephen does have a delineative Daedalian "doctrine"[47] which he enunciates in open opposition to contemporary Catholicism. However, the manner in which he struggles to overcome the narrow boundaries of Catholicism, and extricate himself from the Church's intellectual and spiritual hegemony in Ireland, is presented as heretical, and the opposition between Stephen and the narrow anti-intellectualism of Edwardian Dublin, is presented as a conflict between a Nolan-like outsider and a cultured and an uncultured "rabblement".

Although Stephen is reluctant to discuss openly his intellectual and aesthetic speculation with his clerical teachers, he is relatively less circumspect with his fellow-students who, while regarding his literary interests with suspicion, tolerate him as a "notable-extraordinary". (*SH* 44) He is "respectfully invited to read a paper before the Literary and Historical Society of the college. The date was fixed for the end of March and the title of the paper was announced as 'Drama and Life'." (*SH* 44) The primary subject of this paper, that is

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[46] Ibid, p. 110
[47] Ibid, p. 100.

eventually delivered to the Literary and Historical Society as 'Art and Life', is the drama of Henrik Ibsen. For the "shivering society" of young men in the college all art, particularly modern or contemporary art, is considered to be inherently suspect, and Stephen's championing of Ibsen is perceived as tangible proof of his status as an "infidel":

> No-one would listen to his theories: no-one was interested in art. The young men in the college regarded art as a continental vice and they said in effect, 'If we must have art are there not enough subjects in Holy Writ?' — for an artist with them was a man who painted pictures. It was a bad sign for a young man to show interest in anything but his examinations or his prospective 'job'. It was all very well to be able to talk about it but really art was all 'rot': besides it was probably immoral; they knew (or, at least, they had heard) about studios. They didn't want that kind of thing in their country. (*SH* 38)

> The young men of the college had not the least idea who Ibsen was but from what they could gather here and there they surmised that he must be one of the atheistic writers whom the papal secretary puts on the *Index*. It was a novelty to hear anyone mention such a name in their college but as the professors gave no

> lead in condemnation they concluded that they had better wait. (*SH* 46)[48]

In *Stephen Hero* University College is represented as a discursive environment in which the rigidity and philistinism of the 'Syllabus of Errors' is seemingly pervasive. This papal edict was published by Pius IX with the encyclical *Quanto Cura* in 1864; it was a denunciation of the "principle errors of our times", and publicly rejected the proposition that "The Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile and adapt himself to progress, liberalism and modern civilization."[49] As Terence Brown has observed, "The great nineteenth-century struggles in the Irish Church between the centralizing apparently ultramontanist party led by that organizational genius, the first Irish Cardinal, Paul Cullen, and older independent forms of Catholicism had been resolved in favour of a church loyal to Rome."[50] The Ultramontane Irish Church reproduced faithfully the medievalist and absolutist discursive environment of the Vatican, in which the authority of the papacy to speak on questions of morality and faith was proclaimed infallible, and in which modernity was held to be in grave error of the teachings of Mother Church. The Irish hierarchy was responsible for the administration of University College, and this institution reflected the anti-modernist absolutism of the Church as a whole. Furthermore, as Constantine Curran has noted, the Literary and Historical Society and the student magazines, *Lyceum* and *St. Stephen's*,

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[48] Ibsen's writings were not placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books*. See *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Vatican: Polyglottus, 1940). As I have noted, all of Bruno's writings were placed on the *Index*, and he has been falsely traduced as an atheist.

[49] Pius X, "The Syllabus of the Principle Errors of our Times", H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, eds., *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitiorum et Declarationem de Rebus Fidei et Morum*, 34th edn. (Freiburg, 1967), p. 2980; cited in Nicholas Sagovsky, *'On God's Side': A Life of George Tyrrell* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 59.

[50] Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History: 1922-1985*, p. 27.

were subject to a clerical censor and possessed an "air of currule authority".[51] It is an institution in which the moral strictures and prejudices of the cultured "rabblement" are in the ascendancy. In such an environment a paper that adheres to the prescription of the 'Syllabus of Errors', such as that of the Auditor of the Literary and Historical Society, Moynihan, entitled 'Modern Unbelief and Modern Democracy', is received with approval. Stephen, in his championing of Ibsen, signifies his opposition to the "rabblement" of the college and solicits anathematisation.

Stephen's paper is to be delivered in March and he spends a Lenten "forty days" between Christmas and that time in "wanderings in the desert" of Dublin, composing his essay with slow and deliberate care. (*SH* 74) In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Bruno blasphemously assigns miraculous Christ-like virtues and abilities to his subversive discursive entity: "he [the Nolan] loosed the tongues of the dumb who could and dare not express their entangled opinions, [and] he strengthened the lame who could not make that progress of the spirit which base and dissoluble matter cannot make."[52] Although Joyce does not attribute miraculous deeds and abilities to Stephen, his non-conformist stance and his fierce contempt for the hypocrites and Pharisees of the Catholic communion is presented as having a Christological aspect. In Chapter XX, he reflects that before his apostasy he had found the figure of Jesus "too remote and too passionless and he had never uttered from his heart a single fervent prayer to the Redeemer: it was to Mary, as to a weaker and more engaging vessel of

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[51] Constantine P. Curran, *Under the Receding Wave* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970), pp. 76-79; cited in Bonnie Kime Scott, '*Lyceum*: An Early Resource for Joyce', *James Joyce Quarterly*, , 22:1 (Fall 1984), p. 78.

[52] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 90. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, Jesus tells two disciples of John the Baptist to go to him in prison and tell him all that they have heard and seen concerning Christ and his disciples: "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers

salvation, that he had entrusted his spiritual affairs." (*SH* 116-117). However, now that he has disenfranchised himself "from the discipline of the Church" (*SH* 117) and "cultivated an independence of soul which could brook very few subjections", Stephen discovers sanction for his spiritual and intellectual revolt in the "Divine exemplars" of that very Church. (*SH* 116) Stephen is drawn to the "Founder" (*SH* 117) of Christianity, and the "narrative of the life of Jesus did not in any way impress him [with] as the narrative of the life of one who was subject to others." (*SH* 116) This admiration for Jesus' independence of soul and will is consonant with his Brunonian affirmation that "Isolation is the first principle of artistic economy." Moreover, in Chapter XXIV one of the intercessionary "ambassadors" of the Church compares Stephen's decision to leave the Church and occupy the discursive site of the heretic with the sufferings of Christ during the Passion: "was it anything but vanity which urged him to seek out the thorny crown of the heretic"? (*SH* 209) In describing in Chapter XVIII the time in which Stephen spends traversing the city of Dublin composing his paper as a period of "forty days [...] wanderings in the desert", Joyce is clearly alluding to the episode that is recorded in the Synoptic Gospels when Jesus is driven out into the wilderness by the Holy Spirit, where he fasts for forty days and forty nights and is tempted by the devil. According to the Gospel of St. Matthew, the devil, the "tempter", challenges Jesus to alleviate his hunger by commanding the rocks to turn into stone; he dares him to prove that he is the Son of God by hurling himself from the highest pinnacle of the temple in Jerusalem and allowing the angels of God to bear him up; and he offers Jesus "all the kingdoms of the

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are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." Matthew: 11: 5-6.

world" if he will only "fall down and worship" him.[53] In Chapter XVIII Joyce subverts the spiritual dynamic of Christ's trial in the "wilderness". Although Stephen, the young Nolan-like artist heretic who "professes scorn for the rabblement and contempt for authority", is not tempted by emissaries of the devil, he does encounter a representative of the Ultramontane Roman Catholic Church that had offered to him the "power of the keys", and which still seeks to ensnare him a condition of spiritual subjection and paralysis.

During one of his evening walks, Stephen is surprised to have his arm seized by a "tall young man with many eruptions on his face dressed in heavy black." (*SH* 75) The young man, named Wells, whom Stephen does not recognise initially, was a former fellow-pupil at Clongowes Wood College. Wells, presumably, is the bully in *A Portrait* who teases Stephen Dedalus about whether or not he kisses his "mother before he goes to bed", and who "shouldered him into the square ditch [...] because he would not swop his little snuffbox for Wells's seasoned hacking chestnut, the conqueror of forty." (*P* 11) Stephen does not know his Church when he sees it and mistakes the black garb of the seminarian for a suit of mourning. His reputation as an "infidel" who is "going in for literature" (*SH* 76) has gone before him and, in a false and misguided pretence of intimacy and liberality, the seminarian attempts to engage Stephen in a discussion about his status as a "littérateur" (*SH* 75) and his presumed licentious activities. For the "loud-voiced" (*SH* 75) Wells, as for the "rabblement" of University College, literary art is no more than a continental vice, synonymous with immorality, and he enquires, in a faltering and elliptical manner, if Stephen has read a book entitled *Trilby*: "Famous book, you know;

[53] Matthew: 4: 1-12.

[...] Of course it's a bit ... blue. [...] Paris, you know ... artists." (*SH* 76) *Trilby*, as Richard Brown has notes in *Joyce and Sexuality*, is a "sensational novel"[54] by George de Maurier. Stephen has not read *Trilby*, and Wells invites him to visit him when he has become a parish priest, and Stephen has become a "great writer [...] the author of a second *Trilby* or something of that sort". (*SH* 76-77)

Stephen is polite and circumspect with Wells and agrees to accompany him as far as Clonliffe College, the Dublin diocesan seminary. The sight of Clonliffe, and the seminarians in the college grounds, elicits in Stephen a withering estimation of the nature of the Irish Catholicism from which he is struggling to extricate himself. He is made aware of the powerful material position of the Church in the Irish social formation, and the condition of "spiritual paralysis" that is offered to all those individual Irish subjects who subject their "wills and minds" to the authority of Catholicism. (*SH* 151)

> As Stephen looked at the big square block of masonry looming before them through the faint daylight, he re-entered again in thought the seminarist life which he had led for so many years, to the understanding of the narrow activities of which he could now in a moment bring the spirit of a sympathetic alien. He recognised at once the martial mind of the Irish Church in the style of this ecclesiastical barracks. (*SH* 77)

As Stephen reflects bitterly in Chapter XVII, "The Roman, not the Sassenach, was [...] the tyrant of the islanders". Throughout the nineteenth century the Irish

[54] Brown, *Joyce and Sexuality*, p. 150.

Church had fought hard to consolidate its position in the Irish social formation. A dramatic manifestation of the consolidation that occurred in the wake of Catholic Emancipation, and during the re-organisation of the Church under the Ultramontane pastorship of Cardinal Paul Cullen, was the massive expansion in the building of ecclesiastical buildings, in both the construction of churches and schools, and in the establishment of the seminaries of Maynooth and Clonliffe. In *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, Terence Brown comments on this expansion and how it strengthened the position of the Church in the Irish social formation:

> A programme of church-building was undertaken (in 1865 there were 1842 churches, in 1906 2417), and sound investments were made in land and property so that by the beginning of our period, reflecting on the piety and on the rich inheritance of buildings and investments bequeathed by the nineteenth-century church, it should have been possible for the Irish hierarchy to feel serenely confident about its position.[55]

No longer restrained by the Penal Laws, the Church was able to provide churches in which the majority Catholic population of Ireland could worship freely, and it was able to create the necessary material infrastructure that would support its pastoral and administrative responsibilities. The spiritual ascendancy that the Church enjoyed over the majority of the Irish population who adhered to the

[55] Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, pp. 27-28. Also, see David W. Miller, *Church, State and Nation in Ireland: 1890-1921* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1973); Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Sociological Study* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983).

Catholic faith was thus made materially manifest in the topography of Ireland. The Irish Church, like all ecclesiastical institutions, was a material force that, in Viswanathan's phrase, was capable of "constituting activity"[56] in Edwardian Ireland, and the scale of the expansion of ecclesiastical construction serves as a physical reminder to Stephen of the powerful hegemonic position of the Church in this social formation. For Stephen, Ireland is a country in which "Caesar [professes] confesses Christ and Christ confesses Caesar that together they may wax fat upon a starveling rabblement which is bidden ironically to take to itself this consolation in hardship 'The Kingdom of God is within you'." (*SH* 151) Stephen perceives the Irish Church as a material and a discursive force that spiritually and socially garrisons Ireland as oppressively as, and in tandem with, the repressive state apparatuses of the imperial British state.

While the "big square block of masonry looming before" Stephen and Wells reminds him of the powerful hegemony of the Church in Edwardian Ireland, the sight of the seminarians, the individual men who will soon enforce, as priests of the "order of Melchisedec", the spiritual authority of Ultramontane Catholicism, elicits from Stephen a cold appraisal of the nature of that spiritual authority and a refusal to subject himself to such a narrow creed.

> He knew that Wells had exaggerated his airs in order to hide his internal sense of mortification at meeting one who had not forsaken the world, the flesh and the devil and he suspected that, if there were any tendency to oscillation in the soul of the free-spoken young student, the iron hand of the discipline of the

[56] Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, p. xv.

> Church would firmly intervene to restore equipoise. At the same time Stephen felt somewhat indignant that anyone should expect him to entrust spiritual difficulties to such a confessor or to receive with pious feelings any sacrament or benediction from the hands of the young students whom he saw walking through the grounds. It was not any personal pride which would prevent him but a recognition of the incompatibility of two natures, one trained to repressive enforcement of a creed, the other equipped with a vision the angle of which would never adjust itself for the reception of hallucinations and with an intelligence which was as much in love with laughter as with combat. (*SH* 78)

In refusing to entrust his spiritual welfare to those "young students" who are "trained to repressive enforcement of a creed", Stephen arrogates the right to seek the gift of existential certitude on his own terms, and shows contempt for the "narrow activities" and authoritarian tenor of Ultramontanism. Terence Brown has observed that the theology that was produced and reproduced in the national seminary at Maynooth was narrow, reductive and with little or no philosophical sophistication or speculation. He writes: "all religious mystery [was] apparently apprehended in a facile scholasticism."[57] It is doubtful that the quality of theological speculation at the Dublin diocesan seminary was any different than at Maynooth. Stephen exhibits nothing but scorn for the spiritual integrity and virtue of these seminarians, and has no respect for the scholastic theologico-philosophical system to which they complacently adhere, and which

[57] Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, p. 31.

is the bedrock of the Catholic orthodoxy that they will disseminate to the "starveling rabblement" of Ireland.

In *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* and *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, Bruno is intemperate in his estimation of the philosophical capabilities of his contemporaries. In the Second Part of the Third Dialogue of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, Jove proposes that Libra, the Scales, should descend from the heavens and purge the "academies and universities" of all those whose intellects are "too light or tip the scales", that is, all those who are not sympathetic towards the pantheistic Nolan philosophy.[58] Also, in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, Bruno savages his scholastic adversaries; he describes their methods as "like those of peasants",[59] and attacks them for imprisoning the "human mind" and "knowledge" in the "turbulent prison of the air."[60] In *Stephen Hero* Joyce presents the Jesuit-administered University College and Clonliffe College as ecclesiastical institutions in which the Ultramontane Irish hierarchy enforced a discursive environment in which a spirit of anti-intellectualism and a moribund authoritarianism predominates. Stephen cannot accept an Ultramontane Catholicism which demands that he submit his mind and his will to the authority and direction of its priesthood, and reject the reality of lived experience as an inherently erroneous modality. Although Stephen is not put to the test during his encounter with Wells and his visit to Clonliffe, he does recognise that his "nature" is incompatible with that of the Church, and he rejects the finite redaction of existence that it proffers. To accept such a finite conception of existence, and to reconcile himself with the spirit of narrow orthodoxy of contemporary Catholicism, would place Stephen in a position of

[58] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 232.
[59] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 110.

proximate spiritual danger, and he cannot accept such a condition of servitude. He will never "entrust his spiritual difficulties" to the seminarians who, as priests, will only be able to dangle a "mechanical heaven before the public." (*SH* 91) The "mechanical heaven" is the finite and hierarchical geocentric model of the universe that was at the heart of medieval scholasticism, and the cosmological system that, for Bruno, enchained the souls of humanity and prevented its apprehension of an immanent divinity. Furthermore, in his refusal to forsake "the world, the flesh and the devil", Stephen signifies his alienation from the Jansenist dimension of Irish Catholicism, a dualism that castigates the corporeal world as intrinsically fallen and saturated with the stain of original sin. In so doing, Stephen embraces anathema and occupies a discursive position that is diametrically, and heretically, opposed to the Catholicism of his upbringing and education.

Stephen's chance meeting with the seminarian Wells and his visit to Clonliffe College is a salutary encounter that serves to remind him of the powerful material position that the Church occupies in the Irish social formation, and the "narrow" and authoritarian nature of the Catholic orthodoxy that it produces and reproduces in Edwardian Ireland. In Chapter XIX, shortly after this encounter, Stephen finishes his paper, the title of which he has altered to 'Art and Life'. This essay is a "careful exposition of a carefully mediated theory of esthetic", (*SH* 85) in which Stephen intends to "define his own position for himself." (*SH* 81) Although he is in "favour of all but the premisses of scholasticism", and describes his aesthetic theory as "applied Aquinas", it is a profane discourse that mischievously masquerades as an orthodox utterance

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[60] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 89.

(indeed, Stephen's mother is falsely reassured that the "excesses of this new worship were supervised by a recognised saintly authority." (*SH* 89)) In defining "his own position for himself" Stephen establishes a discursive site and, as Stanislaus Joyce writes of 'Drama and Life', the paper that Joyce himself delivered to the Literary and Historical Society of University College in January 1900, in so doing he defines his intellectual and artistic position "against others — *contra Gentiles*." (*MBK* 137-138) In the enunciation of his profane aesthetic theory Stephen signifies his opposition to the narrow anti-intellectualism of contemporary Catholicism, and the cultural nationalism of the Irish Literary Revival. He refuses to countenance an art form that is morally didactic in intent. He cannot give "intellectual assent" to the "programme of the patriots". (*SH* 81) An act of "intellectual assent" to the imperatives of Irish cultural nationalism would necessarily involve the swearing of "oaths to his patria" and the submission of his will. For Stephen, any submission to the propagandising discursive practices of "Faith and Fatherland" would "corrupt the springs of speculation at their very source." (*SH* 81)

The aesthetic theory that Stephen Daedalus, the "fiery-hearted revolutionary", (*SH* 84) enunciates in *Stephen Hero* is broadly the same "applied Aquinas" that Stephen Dedalus explicates in conversation with Cranly, Lynch and the Dean of Studies in *A Portrait*.

> He proclaimed at the outset that art was the human disposition of intelligible or sensible matter for an esthetic end, and he announced further that all such human disposition must fall into the division of three distinct natural kinds, lyrical, epical and

> dramatic. Lyrical art, he said, is the art whereby the artist sets forth his image in immediate relation to himself relation to himself; epical art is the art whereby the artist sets forth his image in immediate relation to himself and to others; and dramatic art is the art whereby the artist sets forth his image in immediate relation to others. (*SH* 81-82)

He argues that the literary artefact is the highest form of art, and then proceeds to attempt to "establish the relations which must subsist between the literary image, the work of art itself, and that energy which had imagined and fashioned it, that centre of conscious, re-acting, particular life, the art." (*SH* 82) The artist, whose office Stephen regards as narrowly gender-specific, occupies a mediating position between the "the world of his experience and the world of his dreams", and the secret of his "artistic success" lies in his ability to equate the twin faculties of selection and reproduction. (*SH* 82) The "supreme artist" is the individual who is able to "disentangle the subtle soul of the image from its mesh of defining circumstances most exactly and re-embody it in artistic circumstances chosen as the most exact for its new office". (*SH* 82) And poetry is that art form in which there is a "perfect coincidence of the two artistic faculties". (*SH* 82) The world of experience from which the poet disentangles the "subtle soul of the image" of his literary artefact is imagined as a "spacious realm"; (*SH* 82) and it encompasses all the material and existential circumstances of the social formation in which the artist is an individual subject. Thus, the true artist cannot forsake the "the world, the flesh and the devil". In declaring that the realm of the artist is "society", that is, "the complex body in which certain laws are involved

and overwrapped", (*SH* 82-3) Stephen signifies that the proper locus of the literary artist is the contemporary social formation. Such a locus is a cultural and economic site in which the condition of modernity, with its attendant "wolves of disbelief", (*SH* 58) prevails. Stephen, in arguing that the infrastructure and superstructure of a social formation is the proper realm for the literary artist, disavows the condemnation of modernity that is implicit in the narrow proscriptions of the 'Syllabus of Errors'. For orthodox Catholicism such an aesthetics is inherently erroneous, even if the disentangling of the "subtle soul" of the artistic image necessarily involves a critical examination of spiritual, social and economic corruption and paralysis in a given social formation.

The aspect of Stephen's profane aesthetics that is guaranteed to elicit the condemnation of contemporary Catholicism is the manner in which he appropriates the speculative philosophy of Aquinas, the paragon of the theologico-philosophical system that was the touchstone of Catholic orthodoxy, to legitimate his conception of literary art as a mode of human expression that is incompatible with spiritual or moral didacticism. Stephen argues that the critic must approach the literary artefact in an "act of reverence", like a communicant approaching the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. (*SH* 84) If the critic is to approach "the temper" which has forged the literary artefact, and apprehend fully its "secret", he must free himself from those "profanities" in which he may be "enmeshed". (*SH* 84)

> Chief among these profanities Stephen set the antique principle that the end of art is to instruct, to elevate, and to amuse. 'I am unable to find even a trace of this Puritanic conception of the

> esthetic purpose in the definition which Aquinas has given beauty,' he wrote 'or in anything which has written concerning the beautiful. The qualifications he expects for beauty are in fact so abstract and common a character that it is quite impossible for even the most violent partizan to use the Aquinatian theory with the object of attacking any work of art that we possess from the hand of any artist whatsoever'. (*SH* 84)

Stephen appropriates a sentence from the *Summa Theologica* of Aquinas, "*Pulchra enim dicuntur quae visit placent*" ("We call that beautiful which pleases the sight"), to legitimate a literary art form that selects and reproduces elements from the material and existential circumstances of a given social formation. The artist is presented as the sole arbiter of the beautiful; the conception of beautiful being that moment when the "unuttered" (*SH* 83) meaning of "intelligible or sensible matter" is perceived by an intelligence that has not forsaken the "world, the flesh and the devil". The rights and claims of the Church to legislate on questions of faith and morals is rejected. The artist should be free from all the "interdictions" of secular and ecclesiastical authority, and should be allowed to possess the licence to "outrage" the "limits of decency" of the "public mind" (the "rabblement"). (*SH* 84) He argues, "It is absurd, [...] for a criticism established upon homilies to prohibit the elective courses of the artist in his *revelation* of the beautiful". (*SH* 84-85)

Stephen concludes his argument with an "eloquent and arrogant peroration" (*SH* 85) and, in the coded manner in which he proclaims the unique abilities of the poet, he reveals his Brunonian affiliation:

> In fine the truth is not that the artist acquires a document of licence from householders entitling him to proceed in this or that fashion but that every age must look for its sanction to its poets and philosophers. The poet is the intense centre of the life of his age to which he stands in a relation that which none can be more vital. He alone is capable of absorbing in himself the life that surrounds him and of flinging it abroad amid planetary music. When the poetic phenomenon is signalled in the heavens, exclaimed the heaven-ascending essayist, it is time for the critics to verify their calculations in accordance with it. It is time for them to acknowledge that here the imagination has contemplated intensely the truth of the being of the visible world and that beauty, the splendour of truth, has been born. The age, though it bury itself fathoms deep in formulas and machinery, has need of these realities which alone give and sustain life and it must await from those chosen centres of vivification the force to live, the security of life which can only come to it from them. (*SH* 85)

The artist is constructed as a Nolan-like individual who, like the poet or the philosopher, the "lover of the good or the true", refuses to make "terms with the rabblement" and forges his "*revelation* of the beautiful" free from the philistine interdictions of contemporary society. As I have noted in Chapter 3, "Truth" is synonymous with "Divinity" in Bruno's ethical Italian dialogues, and in his pantheistic conception of an infinite universe of infinite worlds the divine is

immanent in nature ("*natura est deus rebus*"). In arguing that the poet stands at the "intense centre" of his existential and material circumstances and alone is able to transmute, or transubstantiate, the "life that surrounds him", Stephen echoes Bruno's assertion in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* that "the Nolan", and those who tasted "the fruits of the Nolan philosophy",[61] are able to apprehend the divine as immanent in nature, the material universe. Furthermore, it can be argued that Joyce, in describing Stephen as the "heaven-ascending essayist" who is able to fling his literary art "abroad amid planetary music", is making an allusion to the effusive passage in the First Dialogue of *The Ash Wednesday Supper* which is cited above. In this passage "the Nolan" is celebrated as an individual who has "surmounted the air, penetrated the sky, wandered among the stars, passed beyond the borders of the world, [who has] effaced the imaginary walls of the first, eighth, ninth, tenth spheres, and the many more you could add to the tatlings of empty mathematicians and the blind vision of vulgar philosophers." I would suggest that hubristic effusion of this "eloquent and arrogant peroration" is an aporetic moment in Stephen's paper in which an attachment to the anathematised shade of Bruno is disclosed, and the heretical intent of his profane aesthetics is covertly signified.

When Stephen has completed the draft of his essay he discusses this "strangely unpopular manifesto" (*SH* 85) with his brother Maurice, and passes the manuscript to his mother and Madden. He is also required to deliver a copy of the paper to McCann, the Auditor of the Literary and Historical Society. Having read the essay, McCann informs Stephen that although he thought it was "Brilliantly written — a bit strong, it seems to me", (*SH* 93) he was obliged to

[61] Ibid, p. 69.

submit it to the Censor, the College President, "The Very Reverend Dr Dillon." Whelan, the College orator, then informs Stephen that Dillon has found his essay to be "tabu". (*SH* 93) Dillon, the President of the University College is the vicarious arbiter and representative of the authority of the Church in the Jesuit-administered institution. It would be disingenuous and misleading to suggest that the encounter that Stephen has with Dillon about the unorthodox temper of his paper is an inquisitorial session in which Stephen is pressured into recanting the elements of his argument that fall foul of the teachings of Mother Church. However, Dillon has the authority, as an ecclesiastical censor, to prevent Stephen from delivering his paper to the Literary and Historical Society, and Stephen's encounter with him can be regarded as an important episode in *Stephen Hero* in which the "deviant insider" openly signifies his dissent from the right of the Church to demarcate the parameters of intellectual and artistic endeavour, and a textual moment in which Stephen gives a covert and coded intimation of his heretical alignment. Furthermore, Stephen's contentious appropriation of Aquinas occurs in a historical moment in which an Ultramontane Vatican was prosecuting any departure or dissent from a narrowly defined neo-scholasticism with *force majeure*.

Stephen encounters the President in the garden of University College, where Dillon, a "small figure wrapped in a loose Spanish-looking black coat", (*SH* 95) is walking with an open breviary and silently saying the hours of the Holy Office. After a polite introduction Dillon displays the "iron hand of the discipline of the Church":

> — I admire the style of your paper, he said firmly, very much but I do not approve at all of your theories. I am afraid I cannot allow you to read your paper before the Society.
>
> They walked on to the end of the path, without speaking. The Stephen said:
>
> — Why, sir?
>
> — I cannot encourage you to disseminate such theories among the young men of the college.
>
> — You think my theory of art is a false one?
>
> — On the contrary, it represents the sum-total of modern unrest and modern freethinking. The authors you quote as examples, those authors you seem to admire …
>
> — Aquinas?
>
> — Not Aquinas; I have to speak of him in a moment. But Ibsen, Maeterlinck … these atheistic writers …
>
> — You do not like …
>
> — I am surprised that any student of this college could find anything to admire in such writers, writers who usurp the name of poet, who openly profess their atheistic doctrines and fill the minds of their readers with all the garbage of modern society. (*SH* 96)

Although McCann attempts to persuade Stephen that Dillon is "liberal-minded", (*SH* 94) he is the representative of Catholic orthodoxy in the college and he exhibits a suitable "priestly cautiousness" (*SH* 99) in his interview with Stephen.

Throughout this salutary encounter the argument of the President is fractured and discontinuous, and his attempt to enforce the authority of the Church is undone and deprived of cohesion by the proliferation of ellipses in his dialogue. It can be argued that the disclosure of discontinuity in the President's inquisitorial discourse is a signification of the inadequacy of orthodox Catholic apologetic amidst the vagaries of modernity. This discontinuity and logical incoherence is contrasted with the fluency and cohesion of Stephen's profane apologetic. Dillon condemns Stephen's admiration of the drama of Ibsen and Maeterlinck, and he regards Stephen's appropriation of Aquinas with suspicion. The President admits to Stephen that he has not read "even a single line" of Ibsen, and that his understanding of his reputation as a "fierce realist like Zola" is primarily derived from hearsay and from the newspapers, a media that Stephen castigates as "half-educated". (*SH* 98) He defers to the will of the "popular devil", "*la bestia Trionfante*", (*CW* 70) and declares that "the public will not tolerate his plays on the stage and [...] you cannot name him even in mixed society." (*SH* 98) Dillon obediently enforces the authority of the 'Syllabus of Errors' and proscribes Ibsen as a representative of contemporary realist literature that, in its intimate negotiations with the high-capitalist social formations of Europe, is confederate with "all the garbage of modern society". For the President such literature is a perversely didactic textual medium in which "some doctrine or other — a social doctrine, free living, and an artistic doctrine, unbridled licence" is produced and reproduced with missionary intent and with no vestige of irony. (*SH* 98) Although Stephen does not disregard the pressures of modernity, he argues that there is "nothing unlawful in an examination of corruption", (*SH* 96) and cites Dante as a literary examplar who "examines and upbraids society." (*SH* 97) He

defends Ibsen as a "great poet" whose work, like John Henry Newman's "account of English Protestantism and belief" in *Apologia*, is an ironical and subtle examination of modern society. (*SH* 97) Nevertheless, Dillon refuses to be swayed by Stephen's argument and insists that the end of art should be the intimation of the sublime, that is a redaction of material existence that is consonant with the infallible teachings of the Church on faith and morals. He distrusts Stephen's appropriation of Aquinas's definition of the beautiful, and argues that the logical conclusion of his argument is the emancipation of the "poet from all moral laws", (*SH* 100) and the realisation of an aestheticism that can only "end in the vilest abominations". (*SH* 101)

The discussion of Ibsen and Stephen's profane appropriation of Aquinas is ultimately inconclusive and, although the President declares his intention to read some of Ibsen's work, he is concerned that Stephen might intend to publish his paper and thus associate his "very revolutionary ideas" with the Jesuit-administered institution. (*SH* 99) As I have noted in Chapter 1, during the period of the Modernist crisis within Catholicism the Irish hierarchy was extremely vigilant in its attempt to prevent the spread of the Modernist heresies, and actively discouraged theological speculation in its seminaries. In this encounter neither Stephen nor the President submit, and the forces of heterodoxy and orthodoxy reach a distrustful impasse. It is Dillon who has the first and the last word in this encounter, thus suggesting the containment of Stephen's profane discourse within the delineated boundaries of a narrow orthodoxy. However, his recommendation that further study of orthodox "recognised facts" may correct Stephen's "juvenile" speculation again collapses into ellipses. Although this discursive faltering can be seen to signify the inability of orthodox Catholic

doctrine and teaching to proffer certitude adequate to the pressures of modernity, the absolutism of Ultramontane Catholicism, and hegemonic sway of the Church in Edwardian Ireland, is undiminished. Stephen is an individual who affirms his right, as an artist, to "refuse to accept the cautions which are considered necessary for those who are still in a state of original stupidity." (*SH* 101) However, Dillon reminds Stephen that in his determination to pursue his intellectual and artistic speculations beyond the demarcated parameters of the narrow scholasticism of contemporary Catholicism, in a social formation in which the Church occupies such a powerful hegemonic position, he risks alienation and anathematisation. It is a reminder that re-affirms Stephen's "contempt" for the authority of Roman "tyranny" in Ireland, and his "scorn for the rabblement":

> — I do not predict much success for your advocacy in this country, he said generally. Our people have their faith and they are happy. They are faithful to their Church and the Church is sufficient for them. Even for the profane world these pessimistic writers are a little too … too much.
>
> With his scornful mind scampering from Clonliffe College to Mullingar Stephen strove to make himself ready for some definite compact. (*SH* 102-103)

In spite of Dillon's censorious objections Stephen receives "no definite prohibition" (*SH* 104) and is granted dispensation to deliver his essay to the Literary and Historical Society of University College. He presents his paper in

Chapter XX in the Physics' Theatre of the college, reading it "quietly and distinctly", (*SH* 105) and without interruption. However, after Whelan, the College Orator, has given a polite vote of thanks, the "rabblement" of the college discloses its philistinism and its complacent acceptance of the rights and claims of the Church, and Stephen is presented as a heretic before a tribunal of the Inquisition.

> Stephen was subjected to the fires of six or seven hostile speakers. One speaker, a young man named Magee, said he was surprised that any paper which was conceived in a spirit so hostile to the spirit of religion itself [...] should find approval in their society. Who but the Church had sustained and fostered the artistic temper? Had not the drama owed its very birth to religion. (*SH* 107)

> The climax of aggressiveness was reached when Hughes stood up. He declared in ringing Northern accents that the moral welfare of the Irish people was menaced by such theories. They wanted no foreign filth. Mr Daedalus might read what authors he liked, of course, but the Irish people had their own glorious literature where they could always find fresh ideals to spur them on to new patriotic endeavours. Mr Daedalus was himself a renegade from the Nationalist ranks: he professed cosmopolitanism. But a man that was of all countries was of no country — you must have a nation before you can kneel at the shrine of art (with a capital A),

> and rave about the obscure authors. In spite of [his] any hypocritical use of the name of a great doctor of the Church Ireland would be on her guard against the insidious theory that art can be separated from morality. If they were to have art let it be moral art, art that elevated, above all, national art,
>
> Kindly Irish of the Irish,
>
> Neither Saxon nor Italian. (*SH* 108-109)

Although Stephen is constructed as a Brunonian heretical outsider in *Stephen Hero*, the Holy Office of the Inquisition is no more and there is no chance of Stephen being handed over to the secular authorities to be "punished with as great clemency as possible, and without effusion of blood".[62] However, this episode in Chapter XX in which Stephen delivers his essay to the Literary and Historical Society is a significant moment in the text. It is in this textual moment that Stephen articulates his profane intellectual and artistic speculation and establishes a discursive site that codedly signified as heretical. His profane discourse is enunciated in the confines of an educational institution that is administered by the Irish hierarchy, and in which the narrow anti-intellectualism and philisitinism of contemporary Ultramontane Catholicism is produced and reproduced. In so doing Stephen covert "secret war" against the Church of his upbringing and education is made manifest. Moreover, in his subversive appropriation of the sanctified exemplars of Catholic orthodoxy, and in the sustained attack that he endures from his fellow-students and clerical teachers, he

[62] This phrase, according to J. Lewis McIntyre, was the formula for burning at the stake. See McIntyre, *Giordano Bruno* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1903), p. 92.

is presented as a Nolan-like individual who is embroiled in a discursive struggle with the cultured and the uncultured "rabblement" of Edwardian Ireland.

V: Conclusion

Although *Stephen Hero* is a fragmented and incomplete text that is, as French has argued, marked by "egotism and effusion", it is of significant critical interest, particularly for the historicist critic concerned with the appraisal of the complex nature of Joyce's textual negotiations with contemporary Catholicism. To comprehend the subversive and radical nature of Joyce's engagement with Catholicism in his writings it is first necessary to understand the discursive conditions of constraint that prevailed within the Church during the 1900s, and to be aware of the powerful hegemonic position that the Irish Church occupied, as a material and discursive institution, in Edwardian Ireland. Deane has argued that, Joyce, like Stephen, conceives of his struggle against contemporary Catholicism as a "revolt of the artist heretic against official doctrine." Joyce's determination to wear the mask of the heretic should not be regarded as a rhetorical posture or an instance of effortless defiance. He articulates his "open war" against the Church during a period in which an Ultramontane Vatican was conducting a counter-revolution in Catholic thinking, and was prosecuting any departure from the sanctified parameters of orthodoxy with *force majeure*. It was a period in which the Congregation of the Index was a vital weapon in safeguarding the Catholic faithful from the "wolves of disbelief", and in which a vigorous campaign was being conducted against the Church's "deviant insiders", the lay and clerical scholars and theologians of the Modernist movement. *Stephen Hero*

is a seminal text in which Joyce attempts to extricate himself from the powerful material and intellectual hegemony of contemporary Catholicism and, as I have argued, it is a text in which the heretical intent of his struggle with the Church is signified by the covert presence of the 'Indexed' texts of Bruno, "the heresiarch martyr of Nola". In Chapter XIX of *Stephen Hero*, Madden is inclined to interpret Stephen's reference to the "planets and the stars" in the conclusion of his paper as an indication that Stephen is an artist of a similar theosophist disposition as "Some of the fellows in the League [who] belong to the mystical set". (*SH* 86) Although Madden understandably fails to recognise the coded reference to *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, Bruno's 'Indexed' writings do occupy a significant subtextual presence in *Stephen Hero* that signifies the heretical intent of the novel, and provides a significant contribution to the manner in which Stephen's struggle with contemporary Catholicism. Joyce's attachment to Bruno cannot be interpreted as merely a curious interest in an arcane figure that he has discovered in the interstices of ecclesiastical history. Bruno was still regarded as an anathema for contemporary Catholicism. His writings were still on the *Index* and his name was still capable of eliciting black ink from the forces of Catholic reaction. As I have noted in Chapter 2, his name and legacy had been appropriated by the anticlericalists of Italy, and in 1889 Leo XIII re-iterated the Church's condemnation of Bruno and declared a day of fasting when a statue was dedicated to Bruno in the Campo dei Fiori in Rome. In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate the manner in which Stephen's negotiation with the Church is constructed as a struggle between a Nolan-like heretical outsider and a cultured and an uncultured "rabblement", and how this structural paradigm is derived from his reading of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. Although Joyce

eradicated or sublimated the scale of the Brunonian presence in *Stephen Hero* when he re-cast the novel as *A Portrait* in Rome in 1907, I would argue that the extensive nature of the Brunonian trace in *Stephen Hero* was fundamental to Joyce's attempt to generate an heretical discursive position from which he could effect a sundering with the Church of his upbringing and education.

Chapter Five:

'God becomes man becomes fish becomes barnacle goose becomes featherbed mountain': Giordano Bruno and the Heretical Mode of Vision of James Joyce's *Ulysses*.

> A Mr Heaf or Heap of the *Little Review* wrote to me a very friendly and complimentary letter in which he said that the U.S.A. censor had burned the entire May issue and threatened to cancel their licence if they continue to publish *Ulysses*. This is the second time I have had the pleasure of being burned while on earth so that I hope I shall pass through the fires of purgatory as quickly as my patron S. Aloysius.
>
> Joyce to Harriet Shaw Weaver, February 1920. (*Letters I* 137)

> The excuse for parts of *Ulysses* is the WHOLE of *Ulysses*.
>
> Ezra Pound, October 1920, *Pound / Joyce*.[1]

I: Introduction

Critical commentary on Joyce's employment of the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries in *Finnegans Wake*, with rare and notable exception, has failed to improve on Samuel Beckett's concise yet limited elucidation of the significance of this conception in 'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce' in *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*, first published in Paris in May 1929. Indeed, as Theoharis Constantine Theoharis has observed in *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul*, "Scholars have noticed this conception so often and so casually that it has become one of the clichés of Joyce criticism (especially criticism of *Finnegans Wake*). Like all

[1] Ezra Pound, *Pound / Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce with Pound's Essays on Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1967), p. 185.

clichés this one is true, but rarely understood or spoken with penetrating or precise intentions."[2] Theoharis's observation, written in 1988, is still depressingly accurate in 2001. Although *Finnegans Wake* is the text most associated with the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, the most significant research on Joyce's encounter with Bruno, and his use of this doctrine, has been undertaken by scholars who are primarily concerned with *Ulysses*, and not by scholars of *Finnegans Wake*. Sheldon Brivic, Elliot B. Gose, Robert D. Newman, John S. Rickard, Norman Silverstein, Theoharis Constantine Theoharis and Joseph C. Voelker, are among the few critics to have attempted to speak, at varying lengths and with varying degrees of success, about the vestigial presence of Bruno in the writings of Joyce, particularly in relation to *Ulysses*. However, Theoharis and, to a lesser extent, Gose, are the only critics to have undertaken sustained examinations of the significance of the presence of Bruno's philosophy in *Ulysses*.

In *Joyce's 'Ulysses'* Theoharis observes, "Concerning the philosophical universality of *Ulysses*, its ontological scope, Joyce remained silent throughout his life."[3] In his study he examines Joyce's dialogue with the writings of Aristotle, Bruno, Dante and Matthew Arnold, and explores "the ontological order [that] Joyce set inside and around the social and psychological reality of Bloom's day."[4] *Joyce's 'Ulysses'* is not concerned exclusively with Joyce's dialogue with the Nolan. However, his chapter on Joyce and Bruno, and his careful reading of the influence of the Nolan's pantheistic philosophy on the "ontological order" of *Ulysses*, is the most thoroughly researched and significant piece of criticism on

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[2] Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 40-41.
[3] Ibid, p. xv.
[4] Ibid, p. xv.

this neglected subject. In *The Transformation Process of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* Gose argues that Joyce discovered in Bruno's philosophy a "mode of vision" in which nature is perceived as "the divine in a process of transformation";[5] and in his study he explores his belief that "Bruno influenced Joyce in three key areas of Joyce's own genius: his ability to embody in his fiction a sense of the happenings of nature as interconnected, of the everyday as containing the eternal, of mind as microcosm."[6] He argues: "When Joyce as an artist abandoned the god-like pose Stephen postulated in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* he shifted the emphasis from the creator above his work to the creator being within his work. This meant giving himself to the processes of the world, submitting to its multiform transformations."[7] Also, in a formalistic book-article of 1987, 'The Coincidence of Contraries as Theme and Technique in *Ulysses*', Gose examines the manner in which Bruno's doctrine can be seen to function as a dynamic formal principle that underpins the narrative structure of a number of the episodes in *Ulysses*, accounting for the stylistic contrariness and the reconciliation of seeming opposites within the text. It can be suggested that the existence of such sustained studies of the presence of Brunonian thought in *Ulysses* obviates or reduces the need for further critical endeavour. However, as I have argued throughout this thesis, an historicist examination of the nature of the dialogue that Joyce conducts in his writings with the anathematised Bruno and his heretical texts is an extremely efficient means of realising some of the urgency and offence of Joyce's critical engagement with Ultramontane Catholicism. Although Theoharis is meticulous in his attention to the

[5] Elliot B. Gose, *The Transformation Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980), p. 3.
[6] Ibid, p. 11.
[7] Ibid, p. 64.

philosophical significance of the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, and his discussion of how such a pantheistic principle functions in *Ulysses*, his study is devoid of any historicist scrutiny or refinement. Michael Patrick Gillespie and Paula F. Gillespie have argued in *Recent Criticism of James Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Analytical Review*, that Theoharis "draws direct attention to the intellectual and spiritual forces that directly shaped Joyce's consciousness."[8] This is certainly true, and Theoharis's analysis of the "important influence exerted on Joyce's novel by the metaphysical, imaginative forces on our natures" is the occasion for a "unique reading of *Ulysses*".[9] However, there is little or no consideration of how the presence or privileging of a pantheistic "ontological order" in *Ulysses* can be seen to function within "Joyce's lifelong Faustian and secularist struggle against the Catholic Church."[10] Joyce's dialogue with the philosophical and metaphysical systems of his "intellectual forebears"[11] did not occur in a vacuum. Moreover, any study of the function or presence of philosophical, metaphysical, mystical, patristic, or theosophical systems or elements in Joyce's texts should be read in the context of Joyce's determination to effect a sundering with the Church of his upbringing and education. The Roman Catholic Church occupied a powerful position in Edwardian Ireland and the Irish Free State. In these colonial and postcolonial Irish social formations a faithful adherence to the doctrines, teaching and rites of Catholicism was an intimate and constituent function of Irish national identity. Any affiliation or dialogue with heterodox or heretical thinking was an act of

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[8] Michael Patrick Gillespie and Paula F. Gillespie, *Recent Criticism of James Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Analytical Review* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2000), p. 90.
[9] Ibid, p. 90.
[10] Richard Brown, *James Joyce: A Post-Culturalist Perspective* (London: Macmillan, 1992), p. xix.
[11] Gillespie and Gillespie, *Recent Criticism of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 90.

defiance and a threat to the sacred constituting narratives practices of both the subaltern Irish nation and the emergent confessional Irish Free State. The ontological immanentism of Bruno's heretical philosophy is diametrically opposed to the transcendental and hierarchical theologico-philosophical system of scholasticism that was the basis of Roman Catholic apologetic. The privileging of an immanentist "ontological order" in *Ulysses* is a profound indication of the degree to which Joyce pursued his lifelong "open war" (*Letters II* 48) with the Church. It is a signification of the importance of the "heresiarch martyr of Nola", (*CW* 132) and his 'Indexed' writings, in this discursive struggle. Moreover, the Brunonian and immanentist "mode of vision" of *Ulysses*, first published in 1922, the year of Irish decolonisation, serves as an heretical challenge to the hegemony of the Church, and to the chauvinistic Catholicism and nationalism of the emergent Irish Free State.

As I have argued in Chapter 2, the undergraduate who employs the heretical *auctoritas* of Bruno in his anticlericalist attack on the hegemony of the Church in *The Day of the Rabblement*, is not the mature artist who "weave[s] the wind" (*U* 2: 662) and incorporates the pantheism of Bruno's heretical philosophy into the poetics of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. The nature of Joyce's affiliation to Bruno does alter from 1901 to 1922, as he moved from a relatively superficial and mischievous attachment to an anathematised philosopher, towards a more complex accommodation of the Nolan's heretical thought. As Robert D. Newman has argued in 'Bloom and the Beast: Joyce's Use of Bruno's Astrological Allegory', "Joyce's attraction to Bruno began as admiration for the Nolan's uncompromising defense of his beliefs and increasingly developed into

an employment of those beliefs in his own writing."[12] The movement from *Stephen Hero* to *Ulysses* is a progression from a signification of heretical intent to the realisation of an heretical practice. The passage from the "I will not serve" (*P* 268) of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to the "yes I said yes I will Yes" (*U* 18:1608-9) of *Ulysses*, is a movement from a defiant disavowal of the rights and claims of the Church to the enunciation of a more sustaining "mode of vision." It is a progression from negation to affirmation. Bruno occupies a vestigial presence in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*. He functions as an heretical trace in these texts that signifies Joyce's determination to construct an oppositional discursive site from which he can enunciate his attack on contemporary Catholicism and "forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race." (*P* 276) His engagement with Catholicism is of a greater complexity and of more significance, in terms of his attempt to forge an unfettered Irish consciousness, than his negotiations with the discursive practices of British imperialism and Irish nationalism. And, an examination of his complex affiliation to Bruno is an efficient means of tracing the nature of that engagement with Catholicism. In 'Circe' in *Ulysses* Stephen Dedalus taps his brow and says, "in here it is I must kill the priest and the king." (*U* 15:4436-7) As well as being a text of decolonisation, *Ulysses* is, significantly, the text in which Joyce signifies his philosophical disengagement with Catholicism. Moreover, as I will argue, this disengagement is effected through the realisation of a poetics that, in part, owes its heretical force to the immanentist ontology of Bruno's philosophy. In this chapter I will suggest that the presence of Brunonian thought in *Ulysses*, while being vestigial and coded, is a complex dimension of

[12] Robert D. Newman, 'Bloom and the Beast: Joyce's Use of Bruno's Astrological Allegory', *New Alliances in Joyce Studies: "When it's Aped to Foul a Delfian"*, ed. BonnieKime Scott

the text. I will argue that the nature of Joyce's dialogue with this thought goes beyond a piratical appropriation of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as a principle of formal organisation, and as a method of stylistic and structural innovation. However, prior to a textual exploration of the influence of Brunonian thought in *Ulysses*, and the degrees to which the contrary consciousnesses of Stephen Dedalus, Leopold Bloom and Molly Bloom contest, intimate or realise ultimately an immanentist "mode of vision", I wish to discuss the heretical nature of such an ontological conception. As I have argued in this thesis, there can be neither an understanding of the subversive nature of Joyce's negotiations with Catholicism, nor of his dialogue with Bruno's thought, without an awareness of the prevailing discursive environment within Catholicism, and the status of Bruno's philosophy for Catholic orthodoxy. There can be no understanding of subversion without knowledge of the conditions of constraint. Therefore, I will discuss the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, and its significance within Bruno's pantheistic philosophy, in the context of the Vatican's condemnation of Roman Catholic Modernism and the magisterium's virulent attack on apologetic immanentism in *Pascendi dominici gregis*.

II: James Joyce and the Doctrine of the Coincidence of Contraries.

In 'The Bruno Philosophy', his review of J. Lewis McIntyre's *Giordano Bruno* that appeared in the *Daily Express* in Dublin in October 1903, Joyce discloses openly his enthusiasm for the Nolan, and demonstrates an

(Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), p. 215.

understanding of Bruno's anti-Aristotelian pantheistic philosophy and his disruption of the hierarchical principles of scholastic logic:

> As an independent observer, Bruno, however, deserves high honour. More than Bacon or Descartes must he be considered the father of what is called modern philosophy. His system by turns rationalist and mystic, theistic and pantheistic is everywhere impressed with his noble mind and critical intellect, and is full of that ardent sympathy with nature as it is — *natura naturata* — which is the breath of the Renaissance. In his attempt to reconcile the matter and form of the Scholastics — formidable names, which in his system as spirit and body retain little of their metaphysical character — Bruno has hardly put forward an hypothesis, which is a curious anticipation of Spinoza. Is it not strange, then, that Coleridge should have set him down a dualist, a later Heraclitus, and should have represented him as saying in effect: 'Every power in nature or in spirit must evolve an opposite as the sole condition and means of its manifestation; and every opposition is, therefore, a tendency to reunion.' (*CW* 133-134)

Theoharis has observed of this review: "Two ideas [...] dominate Joyce's conception of Bruno: that the Nolan was sympathetic to nature as it is, the world of mundane experience, and that he found in that world opportunity for spiritual activity."[13] The Italian dialogue in which Bruno most clearly displays his "ardent sympathy with nature as it is — *natura naturata*" is *The Expulsion of the*

[13] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 40.

Triumphant Beast. As I observed in Chapter 3, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, published secretly in London in 1585, is the most notorious of all of Bruno's dialogues. This astrological allegory contains some of the most heretical of Bruno's philosophical premises, in particular the doctrines of metempsychosis and the coincidence of contraries (which both appear in *Ulysses*), and it was the only one of his writings to be singled out by the Roman Inquisition during his trial. It is in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* that Bruno attacks contemporary Christianity, both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and the theologico-philosophical system of scholasticism that was the touchstone of orthodoxy for both religious faiths. Also, it is in this text that he argues for a pantheistic conception of an infinite universe of infinite worlds in which the divine is immanent in nature ("*natura est deus rebus*").[14] In this dialogue Bruno identifies his idiosyncratic and complex Hermetic philosophy with the magical religion of the Egyptians, and posits the Nolan philosophy as a legitimating basis for a "vast philosophical-theological-political-social program."[15]

It has long been a mainstay of Joycean criticism that Joyce began studying the "philosophical essays" (*MBK* 132) of Bruno as an undergraduate at University College, Dublin, between 1898 and 1902, and that it is unlikely that his familiarity with Bruno's philosophical and cosmological writings, at this time, extended beyond the Italian dialogues, in particular *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* (*Lo Spaccio de la bestia tronfante*), *The Ash Wednesday Supper* (*La Cena de le ceneri*), *Cause, Principle and Unity* (*De la causa,*

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[14] Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, trans. Arthur D. Imerti (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992),p. 235.

[15] Edward A. Gossellin and Lawrence S. Lerner, 'Introduction', Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1995), p. 13.

principio e uno), and possibly *The Heroic Frenzies* (*De gli eroici furori*).[16] It could be argued that Joyce's understanding of the Nolan's philosophy, and his comprehension of the coincidence of contraries, the heretical doctrine that is an axiomatic function of his pantheistic thought, did have a vestigial influence on the formal composition and the episodic structure of *A Portrait*. Indeed, in *'Ulysses' on the Liffey* Richard Ellmann argues that for Joyce the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries was "no finespun theory, but an axiom which he saw everywhere confirmed. It helped him to organize *A Portrait*, which begins with the birth of the body and ends with the birth of the soul."[17]

In *A Portrait* Stephen Dedalus arrives at a sense of personal justice and triumph only through the experience of injustice and humiliation at the hands of Father Dolan at Clongowes. Similarly, the process by which he comes to countenance a state of innocence and pursue a pious life of fervent devotion is effected only through his equally fervent sexual fantasising, his precocious adolescent sorties into the brothel district of inner-city Dublin, and finally the harrowing experience of the retreat at Belvedere in which fear of divine judgement and eternal damnation precipitates his painful confession and act of contrition. However, the gradual passage from one opposition to another, from experience to innocence, from debauchery to piety, is a continuous process and Stephen's attainment of a given state or emotion is always a transient experience. He comes to recognise that all of human existence is subject to such a cyclical process of transformation, and his acceptance of such an existential condition can arguably be registered at the end of Chapter 4 of *A Portrait* in his determination "To live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate life out of life!" (*P* 186) He has

[16] Gose, *The Transformation Process*, p. 3.
[17] Richard Ellmann, *'Ulysses' on the Liffey* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 54.

forsaken the possibility of taking Holy Orders and becoming "The Reverend Stephen Dedalus, S. J." (*P* 174) He walks on the strand between Clontarf and Dublin as he waits to discover whether or not he is to attend University College. In a series of epiphanic moments, he reflects on the "fabulous artificer" (*P* 183) whose name he bears. He contemplates enthusiastically the possibility of an artistic vocation, and is vouchsafed a pantheistic vision of the world:

> His heart trembled; his breath came faster and a wild spirit passed over his limbs as though he were soaring sunward. His heart trembled in an ecstasy of fear and his soul was in flight. His soul was soaring in an air beyond the world and the body he knew was purified in a breath and delivered of incertitude and made radiant and commingled with the element of the spirit. An ecstasy of flight made radiant his eyes and wild his breath and tremulous and wild and radiant his windswept limbs. (*P* 183)

> He closed his eyes in the languor of sleep. His eyelids trembled as if they felt the vast cyclic movement of the earth and her watchers, trembled as if they felt the strange light of some new world. His soul was swooning into some new world, fantastic, dim, uncertain, as under sea, traversed by cloudy shapes and beings. A world, a glimmer, or a flower? Glimmering and trembling, trembling and unfolding, a breaking light, an opening flower, it spread in endless succession to itself, breaking in full crimson and unfolding and fading to palest rose, leaf by leaf and

> wave of light by wave of light, flooding all the heavens with its soft flushes, every flush deeper than the other. (*P* 187)

Stephen's Nolan-like "soaring in an air beyond the world and the body", and his intimation of an immanentist ontology, is a transient moment of revelation which will be placed by the stasis of his Thomistic aesthetic theory. This continuous progression through contrary states and conditions is extremely redolent of a passage in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* in which Bruno introduces and attempts to explicate the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries. In the First Part of the First Dialogue of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* Sophia and Saulino (respectively, the goddess of Wisdom and the symbol of man in search of wisdom and truth) discuss the manner in which all things in nature are subject to "mutation, variety, and vicissitude",[18] and how human pleasure is only realised in the recognition of the infinite motion from "one contrary to the other through its participants".[19] The recognition of the fate of mutations is a necessary prelude to the comprehension of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries.

> SOPHIA. We see that every pleasure consists only in a definite transit, journey, and motion. Just as troublesome and sad is the state of hunger; so, displeasing and grave is the state of satiety; but that which does delight us is the motion from the one [state] to the other. The state of venereal ardour torments us, the state of requited lust saddens us; but that which satisfies us is the transit from the one state to the other. In no present being do we find

[18] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 89.
[19] Ibid, p. 90.

> pleasure, if the past has not become wearisome to us. Labor does not please except in the beginning, after rest; and unless in the beginning, after labor, there is no pleasure in rest.
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> [...]
>
> SAUL. So it seems to me; because justice has no act except where there is error, harmony is not effected except where there is contrariety.
>
> [...]
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> SOPHIA. What I wish to infer from that is that the beginning, the middle, and the end, the birth, the growth, and the perfection of all that we see, come from contraries, through contraries, into contraries, to contraries. And where there is contrariety, there is action and reaction, there is motion, there is diversity, there is number, there is order, there are degrees, there is succession, there is vicissitude.[20]

Although it could be argued that Joyce's undergraduate reading of Bruno's "philosophical essays" did have an influence on the rhythmic and thematic drive of the narrative in *A Portrait*, I would suggest that at this time his engagement with the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries is restricted to the realisation of a principle of formal technique.

It can be argued that the movement of the narrative of *A Portrait* from "one contrary to the other through its participants" owes something to Joyce's reading of Bruno, and that this reading did provide an efficient means of re-

[20] Ibid, pp. 89-91.

drafting the unwieldy and unpublishable *Stephen Hero* and helped Joyce to realise the strict economy of *A Portrait*. However, there is little to suggest that the ontology of *A Portrait*, that is, the conception of the nature of being or existence that can be discerned in the text, is influenced substantially by Bruno's pantheism. Indeed, it is evident from the telegraphic notations of *The Paris Notebook* of 1903 that the Joyce of the 1900s, like the Stephen Dedalus of *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, derives profanely his theories of realistic representation, poetics, and his conception of being, primarily from the transcendental and hierarchical philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas, and not from "the heresiarch martyr of Nola."[21] As I argued in Chapters 3 and 4, Joyce responded with mischievous enthusiasm to the contemporary anticlericalist lionisation of Bruno, and he enlisted the Nolan as an heretical *auctoritas* in his own struggle with the Church. Joyce's employment of the "covert authority" [22] of the anathematised Bruno in *The Day of the Rabblement*, and his construction of Stephen Daedalus as an heretical Nolan-like outsider in *Stephen Hero*, is testament to his attempt to extricate himself from the hegemonic claims of contemporary Catholicism, and establish a discursive site from which he could enunciate his "open war" against the Church. There is textual evidence that Joyce's youthful reading of Bruno contributed significantly to his conception of his struggle with contemporary Catholicism as an heretical one, and influenced the manner in which Joyce launched his discursive assault on the hegemony of the Church in Edwardian Dublin in *The Day of the Rabblement* and *Stephen Hero*. However, there is little or no evidence from the covert and coded allusions to Bruno and his Italian

[21] See *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for 'A Portrait of the Artist as Young Man'*, eds. Robert Scholas and Richard M. Kain (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 52-55.

dialogues in these texts that would suggest that the philosophical and cosmological principles and doctrines of Bruno's heretical writings had begun to resonate in Joyce's own thought. As Michael Beausang has observed in 'Authority Under Fire: Italian Heretics and Non-Conformists in Joyce's Work', Bruno is one of the "fiery badgers of heresy"[23] to whom Joyce signified mischievously his allegiance in his own nascent struggle with an authoritarian and anti-intellectual Church. In the period prior to 1914, the year in which he began to work on *Ulysses*, Joyce may have admired Bruno's daring thought, "by turns rationalist and mystic, theistic and pantheistic", but it had not yet begun to be a significant influence on his conception of being, and had not yet displaced his intellectual attachment to the metaphysics and poetics of Aristotle and Aquinas.

It is evident from the letters that Joyce wrote to his brother Stanislaus from Rome in 1907, that he had become tired of the anticlericalist lionisation of Bruno. As he wrote on 17 February 1907, "The spectacle of the procession in honour of the Nolan left me quite cold. I understand that anti-clerical history probably contains a large percentage of lies but this is not enough to drive me back howling to my gods." (*Letters II* 217) Joyce's youthful ardour for Bruno may have waned but he did not abandon his interest in the Nolan's philosophy. Joyce only mentions Bruno four times in his collected correspondence: twice in 1907 and in a further two letters that were written to Harriet Shaw Weaver in Paris in 1925 and 1926. In these letters Joyce attempts to explicate something of

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[22] Jean-Michel Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 10.

[23] Michael Beasaung, 'Authority Under Fire: Italian Heretics and Non-Conformists in Joyce's Work', *Revue des Lettres Modernes: Histoire des Idees et des Litterateur*, 1994, p. 77.

the complex method and schema of the esoteric *Work in Progress*. On 1 January 1925 Joyce writes:

> I ought to tell you a few things. The Irish alphabet (alim, beith, coll, dair etc) is all made up of the names of trees … Bruno Nolano (of Nola) another great southern Italian was quoted in my first pamphlet *The Day of the Rabblement*. His philosophy is a kind of dualism — every power in nature must evolve an opposite in order to realise itself and opposition brings reunion etc etc. (*Letters I* 224-5)

As Jean- Michel Rabaté has observed in *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt*, there appears to be a "blatant contradiction"[24] between Joyce's appraisals of Bruno's philosophy in 'The Bruno Philosophy' in 1903 and in his letter to Weaver in 1925. Although this letter is written in connection with the presence of Brunonian thought in *Finnegans Wake*, I would suggest that it should also be considered in relation to a discussion of the employment of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries in *Ulysses*. In his review of McIntyre's *Giordano Bruno* Joyce repudiated the Romantic reading of Bruno's philosophy: "Is it not strange, then, that Coleridge should have set him down a dualist, a later Heraclitus, and should have represented him as saying in effect: 'Every power in nature or in spirit must evolve an opposite as the sole condition and means of its manifestation; and every opposition is, therefore, a tendency to reunion.'" However, as Rabaté has noted, in his letter to Weaver Joyce seems to have:

[24] Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void*, p. 13.

> [...] forgotten all his reservations about the misrepresentation of Brunonian theory as a dualism, to the point of quoting Coleridge's very words as a key to Bruno's system [...] What are we to make of this blatant contradiction? Had Joyce simply forgotten his earlier argument? Had he simply kept in mind the quotation he attacked, without remembering that he had attacked it? Or had he, more significantly, changed his mind?[25]

Rabaté also notes that this "question becomes more pointed if we have to decide whether Bruno has indeed provided Joyce with a conceptual foundation for *Finnegans Wake*, concurrently with Vico's historical system."[26] This apparent contradiction is certainly problematic, and Rabaté, who reads Joyce's writings retrospectively and privileges the ludic and polysemous poetical indeterminacy of the *Wake*, deliberately does not attempt to resolve this question. He is inclined to allow this "blatant contradiction" to rest as a playful anomaly in a dextrous post-structuralist reading of Joyce that is primarily concerned with tracing the development of philosophical doubt in Joyce's writings. He writes, "these contradictions are there to be enjoyed by the reader who continues an unceasing, cross-examination, rereading himself or herself in this relativistic, serial and infinitely expanding textual universe."[27]

The misreading of Bruno's philosophy in the letter of 1926 does problematise a discussion of Joyce's appropriation of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. However,

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[25] Ibid, p. 13.
[26] Ibid, p. 13.

'Dante...Bruno.Vico..Joyce' was written in 1929 at Joyce's behest and instruction, and Beckett's concise appraisal of the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries reveals a reading that is sympathetically immanentist and not dualist. Furthermore, in a letter that Joyce wrote to Weaver on 21 May 1926, he draws her attention to McIntyre's study of Bruno (the text from which Beckett's reading of the doctrine of coincidence of contraries is derived). He also discusses the importance of Viconian and Brunonian conceptions in the composition of the *Wake*:

> Have you read *Saint Patrice*? There is a book on Bruno (though not on Nolan) by Lewis McIntyre (Macmillan). I do not know if Vico has been translated. I would not pay overmuch attention to these theories, beyond using them for all they are worth, but they have gradually forced themselves on me through circumstances of my own life. (*Letters I* 241)

Joyce does not expand on how the "circumstances" of his own life had "forced" him to become sympathetic and receptive to the theories of Vico and Bruno. As I have noted, in 1904 Joyce declared to Nora Barnacle that he was engaged in an "open war [against the Church] by what I write and say and do." (*Letters II* 48) I would suggest that the personal and professional privations that the Joyces were forced to endure during their life-long "voluntary exile" (*Letters II* 84) on the continent, did deepen Joyce's attachment to Bruno and facilitated a complex

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[27] Ibid, p. 20.

accommodation of the ontological immanentism of his heretical thought. Indeed, in *Joyce's 'Ulysses'* Theoharis writes:

> By 1914, when he started *Ulysses*, Joyce must have thought more about Bruno's hardship and ultimate fate than he did about the Nolan's glorious zeal. After ten years of exile in which he lived the way Bruno did — traveling from city to city in Europe, usually poor, dependent on patrons for survival, harassed or cut off from the literary establishment — Joyce had even more cause to identify himself with the martyred Italian than he had at University College, when he was a heroically ambitious teenager. At sixteen and eighteen Bruno the Nolan was an example for Joyce, at thirty-three, a fellow victim.[28]

Bruno's "glorious zeal", "hardship and ultimate fate" are inextricably linked to his intellectual struggle with the Roman Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation. In the 1900s Bruno was still an anathema for Ultramontane Catholicism, and his 'Indexed' writings still constituted a discursive challenge to Catholic orthodoxy. In his letter to Weaver in 1926 Joyce declares that he has employed Brunonian and Viconian theories "for all they are worth." Most critics of Joyce and Bruno recognise the significant role that the Nolan occupies in Joyce's youthful struggle with the Church. However, there is little or no discussion of the subversive nature of his dialogue with Bruno's writings; and there is no examination of the question of how Joyce's engagement with the

[28] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 39.

Nolan's heretical thought relates to his professed "open war" with the Church. I would suggest that a discussion of the ontological immanentism of Bruno's thought in the context of the papal condemnation of the apologetic immanentism of Roman Catholic Modernism in 1907 is an efficient means of ascertaining the subversive nature of this dialogue.

III: Pius X's *Pascendi dominici gregis* and the Condemnation of the Apologetic Immanentism of Roman Catholic Modernism.

In the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* A. Papi notes that during the nineteenth century "Giordano Bruno was unduly used as a symbol for movements against the Church, and he was called the precursor of the immanentistic, romantic and scientific positions".[29] According to the *OED*, immanentism is a belief in immanence; God is held to be a permanently pervading and sustaining presence in the universe. B. A. Gendreau also notes in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* that, "From the viewpoint of metaphysics, one meaning of ontological immanence is that everything is intrinsic to everything else, that all elements of the real rigorously imply all other elements and actually constitute only one reality. Carried to its logical extreme, such a concept of ontological immanence leads to pantheism."[30] Pantheism is defined in the *OED* as "The belief or philosophical theory that God and the universe are identical (implying the denial of the personality and transcendence of God); the identification of God with the forces of nature and natural substances." The

[29] A. Papi, 'Giordano Bruno', *New Catholic Encycloedia*, Vol. II (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), p. 840.
[30] B. A. Gendreau, 'Immanence', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VII (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), p. 386.

apologetic immanentism, or the "New Apologetic",[31] of Roman Catholic Modernism did not have had its philosophical origins in the pantheistic thought of Bruno. Indeed, Gabriel Daly notes in *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism*: "The very term 'immanence' belonged to a foreign vocabulary derived from German philosophy and lent itself to diagnosis as a structural support for Protestant subjectivism."[32] Nevertheless, for an Ultramontane Vatican any departure from the narrow confines of an hypostasised scholasticism was not to be tolerated, and the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, the successor to the Inquisition, prosecuted any such departure with *force majeure*. The Modernist movement was a loose network of scholars and theologians, both lay and clerical, who attempted to reconcile Catholic apologetic with contemporary critical thought, and responded to the application of modern historiographical methods to Biblical criticism by liberal Protestant and anticlericalist scholars. Although the Holy Office was inclined to view the Modernists as a close-knit group of scholars and theologians ("the partisans of error"),[33] and in *Pascendi dominici gregis* sought to identify apologetic immanentism and agnosticism as the philosophical and ideological basis of Modernism, it was neither an homogeneous movement nor an homogeneous discipline. The unsystematic arrangement of Modernist scholarship and philosophy was actually condemned as "one of the cleverest devices of the Modernists", designed to mask the "fixed and steadfast" nature of

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[31] A. Leslie Lilley, *Modernism: A Record and Review* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 95.
[32] Gabriel Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 27.
[33] Pius X, *Pascendi dominici gregis*, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, ed. Bernard M. G. Reardon (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 237.

their sacrilegious campaign against Mother Church.[34] While Alfred Loisy and George Tyrrell sought to reconcile Catholic scholarship with the historicism of Biblical studies, Maurice Blondel, Edouard LeRoy, and Lucien Laberthonnière, attempted to realise a new Catholic apologetic that did not rely solely on the extrinsicism (transcendentalism) of scholasticism. The "New Apologetic" of Modernism was not an immanentist philosophy. However, in its frustration with the ineptitude of "Thomistic stasis",[35] its attack on the arid rationalism and extrinsicism of traditional scholastic apologetic, and its development of a "method of immanence"[36] to reconcile the problematic relationship between a transcendent being and the historically situated individual, Roman Catholic Modernism was condemned by the Holy Office as "the synthesis of all heresies".[37] Though the apologetic immanentism of Roman Catholic Modernism is significantly distinct from the ontological immanentism of Brunonian thought, both philosophical positions were an anathema for orthodox Catholicism. I would suggest that a brief discussion of the "method of immanence" and the institutional and discursive violence that the Ultramontane Vatican employed to suppress the Modernist movement, does provide a context in which to assess the subversive nature of Joyce's dialogue with Brunonian thought.

As Bernard M. G. Reardon has noted in *Roman Catholic Modernism*, "Philosophical Modernism was [...] principally a French phenomenon, represented by three distinguished thinkers, two of whom — Blondel and LeRoy — were laymen, the third, Lucien Laberthonnière, being a priest of the

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[34] Ibid, p. 238.
[35] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence* p. 39.
[36] Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 76.
[37] Ibid, p. 7.

Oratory."[38] Although the Holy Office was inclined to depict the Modernists as "partisans of error" who had leagued themselves with the "enemies of the Church",[39] they were pious and devout Catholics who sought to make Catholicism a possibility for modernity. Blondel, LeRoy and Laberthonnière were conservative reformers and not wilful and deviant schismatics. Daly has argued that apologetic immanentism was a response to the perceived inadequacies of traditional scholastic apologetic. Traditional Catholic apologetic was seen as "ineffective because of its refusal to see that contemporary philosophical critique advanced a case to which any worthwhile apologetic had to respond, if it were to be taken seriously as apologetic and not simply as ideological reiteration."[40] Blondel was a religious philosopher from Dijon (the French city in which Maurice Darantière set the print for the first edition of *Ulysses* for Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company). He had risen to prominence with the publication in 1893 of *L'Action: Essai d'une critque de la vie et d'un science de la practique*. *L'Action* is a foundational text in the discursive development of Philosophical Modernism, and was the doctoral thesis that he had undertaken at the Sorbonne. Although Blondel's apologetic immanentism was principally designed for the academic and secular philosophers of the Sorbonne, he did not deny the Catholic concern for transcendental truth. However, he recognised that the arid rationalism of scholasticism was inadequate in its exposition of the relationship between 'nature' and 'supernature': the historically situated individual and a transcendental God. The truth of divine revelation was an *a priori* of traditional Catholic apologetics, and faith in Catholicism involved the rational assent to a

[38] Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 52.
[39] Pius X, *Pascendi dominic gregis*, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 238.

dogmatic and extrinsic system of belief. As Lester R. Kurtz has argued in *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism*, in such an extrinsic theologico-philosophical system "faith is imposed on the passive believer authoritatively from the outside."[41] Reardon argues that such an apologetic "might perhaps appeal to believers but scarcely to the sort of person to whom such apologetic was supposed to be addressed."[42] Moreover, this reliance on the rational acceptance of a dogmatic extrinsic system that was "logical and coherent" (*P* 265) was unacceptable for contemporary philosophy, since, as Blondel argues in *The Letter on Apologetics*: "philosophy considers the supernatural only in so far as the idea of it is immanent in us".[43]

Blondel developed the "method of immanence" as a Catholic apologetic that would be capable of reconciling 'nature' and 'supernature'. However, having rejected "scholastic rationalism and extrinsicism, they [the Modernists] were forced to appeal to a pre-conceptual intuitive, generalized opening of both heart and mind towards the absolute."[44] Blondel argued that knowledge of God, that is, transcendent truth, could be discovered from a study of human consciousness. Although he did not suggest that the divine was immanent in nature ("*natura est deus rebus*"), he did belief that "transcendent Being is immanent in every form of human experience".[45] He stated that there is a determinist feature of human existence and experience. In the consciousness of all individual subjects there is an exigence, a need for self-transcendence. The "determinism consists in having to make a choice," and the "refusal to choose is

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[40] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 107.
[41] Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 77.
[42] Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 53.
[43] Maurice Blondel, *The Letter on Apologetics and History and Dogma*, trans. Alexander Dru and Illtyd Trethowan (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), p. 198.

itself a choice."[46] What distinguishes Blondel's apologetic immanentism from atheistic existentialism is the belief that this "determinism leads ultimately to God."[47] As Reardon notes, "Blondel's whole argument is that at the deepest level of his being, man longs for something 'uniquely necessary' (*l'unique nécessaire*) which at the same time remains inaccessible to his own striving."[48] Blondel argues that the immanent experience of exigence is an instance of human participation in the divine. Reardon explicates this argument:

> There is, that is to say, something within us which is also not of us, something both antecedent and alterior to us, and apart from which our existence is an enigma. The point of Blondel's apologetic is therefore that 'supernature' is not simply a possible *explanation* of human experience, it belongs to its very essence. Man's life is oriented towards God not at certain levels or moments only but continuously and through every potentiality of his being.[49]

The dynamic principle of the "method of immanence" lies in the realisation of the potentiality of 'action' ("Action is the key.")[50] 'Action' is defined as "man's total experience of life."[51] For Blondel human life is predisposed towards the divine, and every human act is an attempt to "transcend each and every particular

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[44] Ibid, p. 107.
[45] Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 54.
[46] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 34.
[47] Ibid, p. 34.
[48] Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 53.
[49] Ibid, p. 54.
[50] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 39.
[51] Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 53.

act."[52] Thus, through the recognition of the transformative process of human life in which human action, the continuous exercise of free will, is conceived as a participant in the divine, God is encountered as both an immanent and a transcendent reality. In *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or, The Old Theology and the New*, George Tyrrell asserts his belief in such an apologetic immanentism:

> [...] since that light, at once transcendent and immanent, at once above and within Nature, guides all men to one and the same supernatural end, it is plain that the process is at once, and without contradiction, natural and supernatural.[53]

Blondel, Laberthonnière, and LeRoy, were the three thinkers most responsible for the development of apologetic immanentism and the "method of immanence". Although apologetic immanentism constituted one aspect of Modernism, when the "draughtsmen of *Pascendi* sought an underlying philosophy for the mortal threat which they saw facing the Church"[54] the "method of immanence" was singled out. *Pascendi dominici gregis* is an intemperate document, and its treatment of Philosophical Modernism, and its authors, is damning. The encyclical condemns the basic errors of Modernism, and argues that the religious philosophy of Modernism is placed on the foundation of "*Agnosticism*"[55] and "*vital immanence*".[56] *Pascendi* accuses the

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[52] Ibid, p. 53.
[53] George Tyrrell, *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or, The Old Theology and the New* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 20.
[54] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 52.
[55] Pius X, *Pascendi dominici gregis*, *Roman Catholic Modernism*, p. 238.
[56] Ibid, p. 239.

Modernists of positing an agnostic philosophy that limits the entirety of human knowledge and aspiration "within the field of *phenomena*", thus excluding "God and all that is Divine".[57] Apologetic immanence is attacked for destroying "natural theology" (scholasticism) and for rejecting "all external revelation";[58] and the "method of immanence", in its attempt to demonstrate the immanent exigence for the divine in the human mind, is denounced as a "great sacrilege."[59]

Blondel did not have any of his writings placed on the *Index*, and in the face of the papal condemnation of Modernism, like Laberthonnière and LeRoy, he submitted to the censure of the Holy Office. As Daly notes, he "emerged from the modernist crisis battered, bruised, but uncondemned."[60] However, *Annules de philosophie*, a distinguished journal that was owned secretly by Blondel and which was an "organ of dissemination of Blondel's method of immanence and progressive Catholic work",[61] was eventually suppressed by ecclesiastical authorities in 1913. Laberthonnière and LeRoy saw their writings placed on the *Index*, and Laberthonnière, as a priest of the Oratory, was subject to ecclesiastical discipline.

The discursive challenge of the Modernist movement effectively ceased with the promulgation of *Pascendi* in September 1907. *Ulysses* is set in June 1904, at the very height of the Modernist crisis, and it was written during the pontificate of Pius X's successor, Benedict XV, 1914 to 1922. As Kurtz has noted, Benedict XV's "first encylical, *Ad beatissimi Apostolorum* (1 November 1914), called for an end to dissension within the church. He declared that moderation should reign and denounced the escalating suspicions about

[57] Ibid, p. 238.
[58] Ibid, p. 239.
[59] Ibid, p. 240.
[60] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 27.

orthodoxy among Catholics."[62] Although much of the violence of the Roman hierarchy's anti-Modernist campaign was brought to an end by Benedict XV, all candidates for the priesthood were required to swear an anti-Modernist oath, and anti-Modernism remained a staple feature of ecclesiastical patriotism. Furthermore, the Ultramontane Vatican had succeeded in identifying Catholicism *tout court* with a narrow scholasticism that was to remain largely in place until the reforms of the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s. In such a discursive environment any negotiation with an immanentist position by a Catholic individual, clerical, lay or apostate, was guaranteed to provoke the condemnation or disapproval of the Church. The alleged obscenity and blasphemy of *Ulysses* elicited the censure of the secular power, and remained a banned book in the United States of America until 1934 and in Britain until 1936 (although it was never banned by the Censorship of Publications Board or the Irish Free State of the Republic of Ireland).[63] However, the Holy Office never condemned it as either blasphemous or heretical and it was never placed on the *Index*, and the Catholic Church never condemned Joyce *ex cathedra*. Nevertheless, in *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, Theoharis argues that *Cause, Principle and Unity*, the text in which Bruno articulates his pantheistic vision of the created universe, is "central" to the "structure" of *Ulysses*.[64] And, I would suggest, the privileging of an immanentist "mode of vision" in a text that intimately represents the Edwardian Irish social formation in which the Church occupied a position of considerable material and discursive power, does signify *Ulysses* as an heretical text.

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[61] Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy*, p. 36.
[62] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, p. 164.
[63] For a sustained discussion of *Ulysses* and state censorship see Jeffrey Segall, *Joyce in America: Cultural Politics and the Trials of 'Ulysses'* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); and Paul Vandeheim, *James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of 'Ulysses'* (London: Macmillan, 1998). Also, see *Banned in Ireland: Censorship and the Irish Writer*, ed.

IV: James Joyce's *Ulysses* and the Ontological Immanence of Giordano Bruno's *Cause, Principle and Unity.*

In *Joyce's 'Ulysses'* Theoharis argues that in *Ulysses* Joyce elaborated the "mystical conception of reality"[65] that he discovered in the philosophy of Bruno. *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* is one of the Italian dialogues that Joyce employs as an heretical trace in *The Day of the Rabblement*, *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*. Although the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries is introduced and explicated in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, Bruno's celebration of the pantheism of the Egyptians is in the wider context of his argument for a universal reform of political, social and religious institutions. As Arthur D. Imerti has observed, in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* Bruno envisages a utopian "society in which the natural religion of the Egyptians, in its purest sense, and the speculative intellect of the Greeks would coincide in a sociopolitical structure patterned after that of the Roman Republic."[66] The doctrine of the coincidence of contraries is not the most prominent feature of this astrological allegory; and *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* is not the heretical text from which Joyce derives the "mystical conception of reality" that informs the "ontological order" of *Ulysses*. However, Newman has argued that *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* does have a significant vestigial presence in *Ulysses*. In his excellent essay 'Bloom and the Beast', Newman argues that this dialogue functions as a source for the astrological and cosmological

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Julia Carlson (London: Routledge, 1990).
[64] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 55.
[65] Ibid, p. 40.
[66] Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 46.

references in *Ulysses*, and is a significant influence on Joyce's construction of the "solar personality"[67] of Leopold Bloom. He also observes that "Bruno's triumphant beast is depicted in the parade of constellations in the 'Oxen of the Sun'".[68] Furthermore, he suggests that the utopian projections and prophetic nature of *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* can be seen to resonate in *Ulysses*. Bloom's prophetic proclamation in 'Circe' of the "new era" of the "new Bloomusalem in the Nova Hibernia of the future", (*U* 15:1542-5) and his subsequent fiery immolation at the hands of the Dublin Fire Brigade, the secular power, are among the Brunonian allusions and parallels in *Ulysses* and suggest that *The Expulsion of the Triumphant* occupies a significant vestigial presence in Joyce's texts. However, like Theoharis and Gose, I wish to concentrate on the covert presence of *Cause, Principle and Unity* in *Ulysses*, and examine the degree to which this immanentist text influences the "ontological order" of *Ulysses*.

Imerti has argued that the "most heretical aspect of Bruno's philosophy in *Lo Spaccio* is his concept of a religion of nature, derived from the doctrine of 'immanence'."[69] However, the text in which Bruno posits his theory of ontological immanence is *Cause, Principle and Unity*, the second of the Italian dialogues that were published secretly in London in 1584 by J. Charlewood. *The Ash Wednesday Supper* was the first of his covert publications in Elizabethan England, and in *Cause, Principle and Unity* Bruno continues and expands the argument of the previous dialogue. In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Bruno celebrated the finite heliocentric Copernican cosmological system as a prophetic

[67] Newman, 'Bloom and the Beast: Joyce's Use of Bruno's Astrological Allegory', p. 212.
[68] Ibid, p. 212.
[69] See Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 45.

symbol of the imminent overthrow of the "blind"[70] Ptolemaic-Aristotelian conception of the universe. For Bruno, Copernicus's theory of a finite and heliocentric universe was a precursor to the revolutionary realisation of a belief in an infinite universe of infinite worlds in which the divine was immanent in nature. As Dorothea Waley Singer has noted in *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought*, the Ptolemaic-Aristotelian cosmological model was an hierarchical system that the Church employed to delineate the dogmatic definition of the relationship between historically situated humanity and a transcendent God:

> In that tradition, the universe is treated as a series of concentric spheres with a central motionless earth. Immediately enwrapping the earth are "spheres" of the three other elements, arranged from within outward in order of decreasing density — Water, Air, Fire. The outermost limit of these is the limit of the mundane or sublunary sphere. Beyond is a further series of concentric spheres, each the abode of one planet, moon and sun being reckoned as planets. Outside these planetary spheres is the sphere of the fixed stars. Beyond this again is the sphere of the *Primum mobile* which has motion imparted to it by divine power, thus causing it to move each of the spheres within.[71]

In rejecting the geocentric cosmological system of scholasticism, Bruno was repudiating the "mechanical heaven" that the priest "dangles [...] before the

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[70] Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 87.
[71] Dorothea Waley Singer, *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought With an Annotated Translation of His Work 'On the Infinite Universe and Worlds'* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950), p. 46.

public." (*SH* 91) Bruno's rejection of the Ptolemaic-Aristotelian cosmological system was also a repudiation of the concept of an extrinsic and transcendent divinity. Moreover, the geocentric "cosmic hierarchy came to be regarded as the archetype of the ecclesiastical hierarchy",[72] and Bruno's attack on the "mechanical heaven" was thus a tacit refusal of the Church's authority.

As Robert de Lucca has argued in the introduction to his translation of *Cause, Principle and Unity*, Bruno was "aware of the fact that the fall of Aristotelian cosmology implies the end of traditional metaphysics."[73] Bruno's "vision of an infinite universe" in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* provoked considerable reaction in Elizabethan England, not least from the academics of Oxford, whose intellectual prowess he had likened to "those of peasants".[74] Although Bruno had not rejected the concept of divinity in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, in positing an infinite universe of infinite worlds, with neither centre nor circumference, he had repudiated the Christian concept of a personal God extrinsic to a fallen and imperfect sublunary world. For Bruno this repudiation was an act of liberation. In the First Dialogue of *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Teofilo praises the Nolan:

> TEOFILO. [...] Now behold, the man who has surmounted the air, penetrated the sky, wandered among the stars, passed beyond the borders of the world, [who has] effaced the imaginary walls of the first, eighth, ninth, tenth spheres, and the many more you could add according to the tartlings of empty mathematicians and the

[72] Ibid, p. 81.
[73] Robert de Lucca, 'Introduction', Giordano Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, trans. Robert de Lucca and *Other Essays on Magic*, trans. Richard J. Blackwell, ed. Alfonso Ingegno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. x.

> blind vision of vulgar philosophers. Thus, by the light of his senses and reason, he opened those cloisters of truth which it is possible for us to open with the most diligent inquiry; he laid bare covered and veiled nature [...] and he opens our eyes to see [truly] this deity, this our mother [the earth] who feeds and nourishes us on her back after having conceived us in her womb to which she always receives us again, and he [leads us] not to think that beyond her there is a material without souls, and life and even excrement among its corporeal substances.[75]

According to Bruno, traditional metaphysics had entrapped the human mind in the sublunary world. The rationalism of scholastic apologetics and cosmology had alienated humanity from both nature and divinity. With the Fall of Adam humanity was separated from the grace of a perfect union with God and was condemned to be born with the stain of original sin. Divine law was no longer consonant with nature; and the temporal world of corporeal existence was thus regarded as an imperfect sphere of generation, decay and corruption: a "vale of tears" in which humanity is reminded of its exile from God. In the patriarchal tradition of Christian theology and metaphysics it is Eve who is held responsible for the stain of original sin, and humanity's exile from a perfect union with God. In 'Nestor' Mr Garrett Deasy, the misogynistic, and anti-Semitic Orangeman, declares to Stephen Dedalus: "A woman brought sin into the world." (*U* 2:389) Thus the feminine is made consonant with the corporeal world of generation, decay and corruption, and is regarded as synonymous with the existence of sin

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[74] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 110.
[75] Ibid, p. 90.

and imperfection. Bruno regarded this redaction of existence as a cruel illusion, and through his immanentist vision he sought to reconcile humanity with nature and God. In *The Ash Wednesday Supper* he is relentless in his vituperative denunciation of the "empty mathematicians" and the "vulgar philosophers" of scholasticism who have imprisoned the human mind in the sublunary world, and proffered an overly abstracted and hypostatised deity. They are the "cultivated [...] rabblement" (*CW* 70) who have allowed humanity to endure a reality of profound existential alienation. In *Cause, Principle and Unity* Teofilo argues:

> TEOFILO. [...] In our age, most of the priests are such that they themselves are discredited, and do discredit to the divine laws; nearly all the philosophers we see are worth so little that they are disparaged along with their science. What is worse, a multitude of scoundrels, like a mass of nettles, have grown used to smothering with poisonous mirages what little truth and virtue get revealed to the few.[76]

In defiance of the "cultivated [...] rabblement" of contemporary clerics and philosophers, the Nolan is the individual who has "laid bare covered and veiled nature". In his heretical immanentist philosophy he sought to reconcile humanity with the "divine law which governs nature", and free it "from the fear of imaginary divinities, cruel and unfathomable, who look down from the heavenly heights, controlling the sublunary world in a mysterious way."[77] In an extremely blasphemous and sacrilegious passage in *The Expulsion of the*

[76] Ibid, p. 22.
[77] Lucca, 'Introduction', ibid, p. x.

Triumphant Bruno attacks Christ, and the influence of Chrisitianity on humanity. The assembled gods of heaven discuss where Orion should be re-located in their reform of the constellations. Orion, the nephew of Neptune, like Christ, "knows how to perform miracles, and, as Neptune knows, can walk over the waves of the sea without sinking, without wetting his feet".[78] The gods (the "imaginary divinities, cruel and unfathomable") suggest that Orion should descend to earth where he will attempt maliciously to alienate humanity from nature. Momus declares:

> Let us send him among men, and let us see to it that he give them to understand that white is black, that the human intellect, through which they seem to see best, is blindness, and that that which according to reason seems excellent, good, and very good, is vile, criminal, and extremely bad. I want them to understand that Nature is a whorish prostitute, that natural law is ribaldry, that Nature and Divinity cannot concur in one and the same good end, and that justice of the one is not subordinate to the justice of the other, but that they [Nature and Divinity] are contraries, as are shadows and light.[79]

As Lucca argues, Bruno's cosmology was thus to "assume a radically anti-Christian character", and necessitated that his philosophy evolve a "new concept of the divinty".[80] It is in *Cause, Principle and Unity* that Bruno "sought to re-vivify terrestial physics and metaphysics on the basis of a principle of

[78] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant*, p. 255.
[79] Ibid, p. 255.

becoming."[81] It is in this text that Bruno enunciates his heretical immanentist vision of the universe:

> [...] a metaphysics which is intended to constitute a more solid foundation for the interpretation of nature and for the consequent introduction of a new ethic, capable of establishing the outline of the renewed relationship between man and God both at the level of life and at the philosophers level of contemplation.[82]

In *Giordano Bruno* McIntyre observes that Bruno perceived nature, the material universe, as the "omniform image of the omniform God".[83] The infinite universe is a simulacrum of the divine; God is immanent and transcendent, intrinsic and extrinsic, the minima and the maxima. The coincidence of contraries is a dynamic philosophical principle in Bruno's immanentist ontology. The Nolan appropriated this doctrine from Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus, a German pre-Reformation reformer (1401-1464). In the writings of Cusanus the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries is a principle of knowledge, and is an aspect of his mystical negative theology. (As Gose has noted, "Bruno made extensive use of the negative way in *The Heroic Frenzies*."[84] Joyce possessed this text in his library in Trieste). In the positive theology of orthodox Catholicism the truth of divine revelation is accepted as an *a priori*, and the nature, attributes and governance of God are delineated authoritatively in the apologetics of the Church. However, negative theology rejects the proposition that the finite

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[80] Lucca, 'Introduction', *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. vii.
[81] Ibid, p. vii.
[82] Ibid, pp. x-xi.
[83] J. Lewis McIntyre, *Giordano Bruno* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1903), p. 182.

knowledge and understanding of historically situated humanity can comprehend the truth of an infinite God. As McIntyre writes:

> Knowledge is posterior both in time and in value to Being, or Reality, of which it is at best a copy or a sign, hence Reality can never be wholly comprehended. Every human assertion is at best a 'conjecture', a hypothesis or approach to truth, but never the absolute thing itself. Only in the Divine Spirit are thought and reality one; the Divine thought is at the same time creative, human only reflective, intuitive, thus the Ultimate Being is and must remain incomprehensible for human minds.[85]

In Chapter 2 of *A Portrait* Heron reminds Stephen Dedalus that Mr Tate, the Jesuit English master, had forced him to recant an heretical assertion that he had made in an essay:

> — This fellow has heresy in his essay.
>
> [...]
>
> — Perhaps you didn't know that, he said.
>
> — Where? asked Stephen.
>
> Mr Tate withdrew his delving hand and spread out the essay.
>
> — Here. It's about the Creator and the soul. Rrm ... rrm ... rrm... Ah! *without a possibility of ever approaching nearer.* That's heresy.

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[84] Gose, *The Transformation Process*, p. 15.
[85] McIntyre, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 142-43.

> Stephen murmured:
>
> — I meant *without a possibility of ever reaching.*
>
> It was a submission and Mr Tate, appeased, folded up the essay and passed it across to him, saying:
>
> — O … Ah! *Ever reaching.* That's another story. (*P* 83-84)

While it is orthodox to claim that the human soul can never attain divine perfection, to deny, as Stephen does, that the soul can ever realise knowledge of God is heretical and is indicative of the speculative theology of the *via negativa.* For Cusanus, it is only through an awareness of the "essential *ignorance*"[86] of human reason that humanity is brought closer to God. As Singer has observed, "In *De docta ignorantia* and *De coniecturis* he [Cusanus] considers how man may attain to knowledge of God — the Infinite, the Maximum. Between finite and infinite, there can be no proportional relationship. Therefore the finite intellect cannot attain ultimate truth."[87] Human reason cannot comprehend the infinite nature of God, or reconcile the divine as either the maximum or the minimum of existence. However, all such contradictions coincide in the godhead, and Cusanus "found in the Christ idea the reconciliation between all contradictions, between finite and infinite, between sense-perception and soul."[88] As Paul Henri Michel has argued in *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries in the writings of Cusanus is concerned primarily with the attempt to understand "divine power and the divine act."[89] While he argues that all contraries are reconciled in God, and conceives the

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[86] Ibid, p. 143.
[87] Singer, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 81.
[88] Ibid, p. 84.
[89] Paul Henri Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, trans. R. E. W. Maddison (London: Methuen,

universe to be potentially infinite, the "infinity of divine possibilities" is never realised.[90] However, for Bruno, "creation is not detached from Him"[91] and the universe is a simulacrum of the divine. In the Nolan philosophy "God is known by the intellect only to the extent by which He manifests himself — where there is nature. *Deus est rebus* — but, to that extent, He demands to be known only in that manner."[92] The universe is thus a "realized infinity, a given infinity"[93] in which all identified contraries are reconciled; and the immanent presence of the divine in nature is to be located in the operation of identified contraries. In Cusanus, the doctrine of coincidence of contraries is a principle of knowledge, in Bruno it is a principle of universal being and becoming.

Cause, Principle and Unity is comprised of five dialogues. Like *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, Bruno's anti-Aristotelian metaphysics are delivered by Teofilo who is a "reliable reporter of the Nolan philosophy",[94] and whose name means literally 'lover of God'. As Theoharis observes, the first dialogue of *Cause, Principle and Unity* is largely an "extended apologia" necessitated by his "cantakerous bearing toward the intellectual establishment"[95] in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*. However, the remaining four dialogues are entirely concerned with an exposition of the Nolan's immanentist ontology, and Teofilo enunciates Bruno's mystical conception of reality to three interlocutors: Dicsono, Gervasio and Poliinnio.

The Second Dialogue is concerned with a definition of cause and principle. In *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno* Michel notes that in *Cause,*

1973), p. 159.
[90] Ibid, p. 159.
[91] Ibid, p. 159.
[92] Ibid, p. 62.
[93] Ibid, p. 159.
[94] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 101.

Principle and Unity, the universe is perceived as a "reflection of God both transcendent and immanent — cause and principle."[96] He writes: "He is both visible and out of sight, in the universe and out of the universe, the intrinsic cause and the extrinsic cause".[97] According to Teofilo, the absolute essence of God is unknowable, and the "divine substance" is "both infinite and remote from those effects which constitute the outer limit of the path of our discursive faculty."[98] Although human reason is finite and unable to countenance the reality and truth of an infinite divinity, Teofilo argues that the "effects of the divine operation"[99] can be discerned in the material universe: nature and the celestial bodies. However, as Theoharis notes:

> Understanding reality is not [...] simply a matter of observing nature, but the reward of reasoned observation, reason in this case denoting a new method for discovering the secret cause and principle of nature, truths that have been obscured by Aristotle's doctrines, especially his ideas of causality and the mutual exclusiveness of opposites. Bruno's new method involves redefinition of the concepts of cause and principle, and the assertion that opposites, despite Aristotle's rules, coincide in nature.[100]

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[95] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 41.
[96] Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 88.
[97] Ibid, p. 89.
[98] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 35.
[99] Ibid, p. 35.
[100] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, pp. 41-42.

Cause and principle are the terms that Bruno employs to describe the internal and external operations of the divine in the material universe. While God is the first cause and first principle, these terms are not synonymous. Theoharis writes: "Cause and principle [...] both bring about the existence of all things but differ in the manner of their activity."[101] God, as transcendent and extrinsic being, is the first cause: "that which contributes to the production of things from outside, and which exists outside the composition."[102] The first principle is defined as that "which intrinsically contributes to the constitution of things and remains in the effect".[103] Teofilo clarifies his definition of cause and principle as follows:

> TEOFILO. Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, nonetheless, speaking properly, not everything that is a principle is a cause. The point is the principle or origin of the line, but not its cause; the instant is the principle or origin of activity [but not the cause of the act]; the point of departure is the principle of movement, and not the cause of movement; the premises are the principles of the argument, but not its cause. 'Principle' is, thus, a more general term than 'cause'.[104]

The "world soul"[105] is the modality through which the divine produces and constitutes all things in nature as both extrinsic and intrinsic cause. The "world soul" or the "internal artificer"[106] is consubstantial with God, and animates the

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[101] Ibid, p. 42.
[102] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 37.
[103] Ibid, p. 37.
[104] Ibid, p. 37.
[105] Ibid, p. 39.
[106] Ibid, p. 38.

material universe. According to Teofilo: "It [the world soul] is at one and the same thing that fills everything; illuminates the universe and directs nature to produce her specimens suitably. It is to the production of natural things what our intellect is to the production of the representation of things."[107] The world soul is omnipresent and interior to all things; it is the "formal constitutive principle of the universe and all it contains."[108] As Theoharis notes, the internal artificer is responsible for "unfolding forms from matter and retracting them."[109] Dicsono, an interlocutor who is sympathetic towards the Nolan philosophy, defines the operation of the world soul as follows:

> TEOFILO. [...] it shapes matter, forming it from inside like a seed or root shooting forth and unfolding the trunk, from within the trunk thrusting out the boughs, from inside the boughs the derived branches, and unfurling buds from within these. From therein it forms, fashions and weaves, as with nerves, the leaves, flowers and fruits, and it is from the inside that, at certain times, it calls back its sap from the leaves and the fruits to the twigs, from the twigs to the branches, from the branch to the trunk, from the trunk to the root. Similarly, in animals, it begins by deploying its work from the seed and from the centre of the heart, towards the outer members, and from these it finally gathers back towards the heart the faculties it had extended, as it were twinning up thread it had first unwound.[110]

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[107] Ibid, pp. 37-38.
[108] Ibid, p. 45.
[109] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 43.
[110] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, pp. 38-39.

The Third and Fourth Dialogues of *Cause, Principle and Unity* are concerned with the immanence of the divine in nature. At the beginning of the Third Dialogue Teofilo states that there are "two kinds of substances in nature: namely, form and matter."[111] In 'The Bruno Philosophy' Joyce observes that Bruno attempts to "reconcile the form and matter of the Scholastics". In the Third Dialogue Teofilo remarks:

> TEOFILO. [...] Nature is similar to art in that it needs material for its operations, since it is impossible for any agent who wishes to make something to create out of nothing, or to work on nothing. There is, then, a substratum from which, with which, and in which nature effects her operation or her work, and which she endows with the manifold forms that result in such a great variety of species being presented to the eyes of reason. And just as wood does not possess, by itself, any artificial form, but may have them all as a result of the carpenter's activity, in a similar way the matter of which we speak, because of its nature, has no natural form by itself, but may take on all forms through the operation of the active agent which is the principle of nature. This natural matter is not perceptible, as is artificial matter, because nature's matter has absolutely no form, which the matter of art is something already formed by nature. Art can operate only on the surface of things already formed, like wood, iron, stone, wool and

[111] Ibid, p. 55.

> the like, but nature works, so to speak, from the centre of its substratum, or matter, which is totally formless. Furthermore, the substrata of art are many, and that of nature one, because the former, formed by nature in different ways, are diverse and various, while the latter, in no way formed, is undifferentiated throughout, since all difference proceeds from form.[112]

According to the *OED*, in Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy, form is the "essential determinant principle of a thing; that which makes something (*matter*) a determinate species or kind of being." Matter is defined as the "component of a thing which has bare existence but requires an essential determinant (*form*) to make it a thing of a determinate kind." For traditional scholastic metaphysics matter is the chaotic substratum of all existence, and is consonant with the feminine. Matter is lacking in essence and is made a determinate thing through the constituting presence of extrinsic form; by analogy, the feminine is lacking in intellect (considered by the scholastics to be a masculine principle) and is thus chaotic. In the opening discussion of the Fourth Dialogue, Poliinnio, an Aristotelian grammarian and an ardent opponent of the Nolan philosophy, enunciates a tirade against both matter and the feminine. The following passage is quoted at some length as, I would suggest, the manner in which Poliinnio denigrates matter and the feminine has a significant bearing on the privileging of the constructed feminine consciousness of Molly Bloom in *Ulysses*.

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[112] Ibid, pp. 56-57.

POLIINNIO. [...] *Et mehercle* [And by Hercules], it is not without good reason that the senators of Pallas' realm have judged it well to set matter and woman side by side, for they have been pushed to extremes of rage and frenzy by their dealings with the rigours of women — but just now an apt rhetorical flourish comes to mind. Women are a *chaos* of irrationality, a *hyle* [wood] of wickedness, a forest of ribaldry, a mass of uncleanliness, an inclination to every perdition [...] Whence existed in potency, *non solum remota* [not only remote], but *etiam propinqua* [also proximate], the destruction of Troy? In a woman. [...] O ancient forefather, first-made man, gardener of Paradise and cultivator of the Tree of Life, for what malice were you victim, to have been propelled with the entire race into the bottomless gulf of perdition? '*Mulier quam dedisti mihi, ipsa me decpit*' ['The woman that you gave me, it is she, she who deceived me']. *Procul dubio* [Without doubt], form does not sin, and no form is a source of error unless it is joined to matter. That is why form, symbolized by the man, entering into intimate contact with matter, being composed or coupling with it, responds to the *natura naturans* with these words, or rather this sentence: '*Mulier quam dedisti mihi*', *idest*, matter which was given me as consort, *ipse me decepit; hoc est*, she is the cause of all my sins. Behold, behold, divine spirit, how the great practitioners of philosophy and the acute anatomists of nature's entrails, in order to show us nature plainly, have found no more appropriate way than to confront us

> with this analogy, which shows us that matter is to the order of natural things what the female sex is to economical, political and civil order.[113]

As I have noted, in 'Nestor' the misogynistc Deasy declares to Stephen: "A woman brought sin into the world." A Protestant and a member of the Loyal Orange Order (the secret society founded in 1795 to uphold the ascendency of Protestantism in Ireland), Deasy believes in the strict eschatology of orthodox Christianity: "The ways of the Creator are not our ways, Mr Deasy said. All human history moves towards one great goal, the manifestation of God." (*U* 2:380-81) Deasy echoes Poliinnio in his condemnation of womankind as the cause of humanity's exile from the perfect union with God, and the fall of Troy; he also blames womankind for the conquest and colonisation of Ireland, and for the fall of Parnell:

> We have committed many errors and many sins. A woman brought sin into the world. For a woman who was no better than she should be, Helen, the runaway wife of Menelaus, ten years the Greeks made war on Troy. A faithless wife first brought the strangers to our shore here, MacMurrough's wife and her leman, O'Rourke, prince of Breffni. A woman too brought Parnell low. Many errors, many failures but not the one sin. (*U* 2: 389-95)

[113] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 71.

As Karen Lawrence has noted in 'Joyce and Feminism' in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, such Anglo-American feminist critics as Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar "refuse to be Mollified" by "feminologist reJoyceings",[114] and are inclined to regard Joyce as guilty of misogyny, and condemn him as a chauvinist author singularly devoted to projects of male linguistic mastery. Whereas Suzzette A. Henke argues that 'Penelope' is a "linguistic paradigm of écriture féminine",[115] and such post-structuralist French feminist theorists as Hélène Cixous and Julia Kristeva have celebrated the manner in which the *jouissance* of Molly Bloom overwhelms and disrupts the hierarchical discursive practices of patriarchy, Gilbert and Gubar perceive in 'Penelope' only a further textual instance of a prohibitive and proprietal masculine *puissance*. I wish to observe that the misogyny of Deasy is extremely redolent of Poliinnio's diatribe against matter and the feminine in *Cause, Principle and Unity*. Poliinnio states: "I hold to the point that one must condemn the appetite of women and matter, which is the cause of all evil, all affliction, defect, ruin and corruption."[116] I would argue that Joyce's appropriation of the ontological immanence of Bruno involves a radical re-appraisal of the conception of nature and being, particularly in relation to the manner in which the patriarchal discourses of scholasticism have denigrated matter and the feminine. I would suggest that Joyce's reading of *Cause, Principle and Unity* influenced the ontological "mode of vision" of *Ulysses*, and contributed to the privileged

[114] Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, 'Sexual Linguistics: Gender, Language, Sexuality', *New Literary History*, 16 (1985), p. 519. Cited in Karen Lawrence, 'Joyce and Feminism', *Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 237.
[115] Suzzette A. Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 127.
[116] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 74.

position that Molly Bloom's monologue occupies in the text. In a letter that he wrote to Frank Budgen in August 1921, Joyce wrote:

> *Penelope* is the clou of the book. The first sentence contains 2500 words. There are eight sentences in the episode. It begins and ends with the female word *Yes*. It turns like the huge earthball slowly surely and evenly round and round spinning. Its four cardinal points being the female breasts, arse, womb and sex expressed by the words *because*, *bottom* (in all senses, bottom button, bottom of the glass, bottom of the sea, bottom of the heart) *woman*, *yes*. Though probably more obscene than any preceding episode it seems to me to be perfectly sane full amoral fertilisable untrustworthy engaging shrewd limited prudent indifferent *Weib*. *Ich bin das Fleisch das stets bejaht*. (*Letters I* 170)

I would suggest that Joyce's description of 'Penelope' as a "perfectly sane full amoral fertilisable untrustworthy engaging shrewd limited prudent indifferent *Weib*" is reminiscent of the catalogue of negative attributes that Poliinnio ascribes to the feminine in the Fourth Dialogue of *Cause, Principle and Unity*. In this passage he qualifies his denunciation of matter and the feminine with reference to Aristotle's *Physics*:

> POLIINNIO. As I was in my little interior temple of the Muses, *in eum, qui apud Aristotelem est, locum incidi* [I fell upon this passage in Aristotle], in the first book of the *Physics*, at the end,

> where the philosopher, wishing to elucidate what primary matter is, compares it to the female sex — that sex, I mean, which is intractable, frail, capricious, cowardly, feeble, vile, ignoble, base, despicable, slovenly, unworthy, deceitful, harmful, abusive, cold, misshapen, barren, vain, confused, senseless, treacherous, lazy, fetid, foul, ungrateful, truncated, mutilated, imperfect, unfinished, deficient, insolent, amputated, diminished, stale, vermin, tares, plague, sickness, death[.][117]

Joyce's description of 'Penelope', in its listing of adjectival terms, is redolent of the manner in which Poliinnio catalogues the alleged failings of the female sex. However, 'Penelope' is "*Weib. Ich bin das Fleisch das stets bejaht*", that is, "woman. I am the flesh that always affirms."[118] And, Joyce's description of 'Penelope' lists the virtues and techniques of his feminine text, and is not a misogynistic broadside. Although, as Lawrence observes, Anglo-American feminist critics have been inclined to "see Joyce's use of language [in *Ulysses*] as the triumph of a patriarchal literary heritage",[119] I would argue that the hierarchical and proprietal discourses of patriarchy, particularly the scholastic rationalism of the patristic writers (the Church Fathers), are subjected to disruption and displacement in the proto-deconstructionist narrative of *Ulysses*. Teofilo argues that the infinite and immobile universe is "indifferent";[120] it is "unified and undifferentiated"[121] and contains all things that exist in the

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[117] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 72.
[118] James Joyce, *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 285n.
[119] Lawrence, 'Joyce and Feminism', *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, p. 237.
[120] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 89.
[121] Ibid, p. 66.

multiform universe. Similarly, Joyce describes 'Penelope' as "indifferent"; that is, it is a textual construction in which contraries coincide and in which the hierarchical and proprietal claims of patriarchy are frustrated and overwhelmed. I would suggest that the manner in which Joyce conceived 'Penelope' as a cosmic and indifferent textual space is influenced by his reading of *Cause, Principle and Unity*, and in particular, Bruno's mystical conception of matter.

In *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno* Michel notes that in the Nolan philosophy there is no hierarchical relationship between form and matter and these two principles both issue from the divine:

> On the other hand, we have acknowledged that two principles, formal and material, have issued from the prime Unity; Bruno also says, two substances, active and passive, the one 'able to act', the other 'able to acted upon'. The substance that is able to act is the soul of the universe; that which is able to be acted upon is matter. Both are divine in the sense that they proceed directly and necessarily from the divinity. They are 'infinite' for the same reason. The soul of the universe manifests itself everywhere at all time, the universality and continuity of its action derive from the fact that 'the divine efficacy' could not be idle.[122]

According to Bruno, matter is not a "*chaos* of irrationality, a *hyle* [wood] of wickedness, a forest of ribaldry, a mass of uncleanliness, an inclination to every perdition". As Michel notes, "Matter is no longer the final term of degradation.

[122] Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno*, p. 108.

Matter *proceeds* from God, without an intermediary, for the same reason as form."[123] Matter, along with God and the Soul, is one of the "three indestructible minima to which everything is finally reduced and which ensures the everlastingness of the universe."[124] In the Nolan philosophy the contrary principles of form and matter are reconciled: the formal principle is immanent in the material principle. Although matter does not possess being, it does possess the infinite possibility of being. The theory of the infinite latent potency of matter is a fundamental principle of Bruno's immanentist ontology, and his conception of nature as an infinite reality of infinite possibility. Michel writes: "To compensate for this lack of being it possesses an infinitude of virtualities. It is nothing but may become everything; it has the power only to be wrought, but with this reservation it has every power; and it desires the fulfilment of the virtualities carried within itself."[125] Although matter may possess an infinite number of forms, it is one of the "three indestructible minima". Everything in nature is subject to change, and change is considered to be a "process of decomposition and rearrangement."[126] However, such vicissitude and mutation is not indicative of a loss of being, and in Bruno's immanentist ontology there is no real conception of death or destruction. Although every thing in nature is composite and dissoluble, matter, as the substratum of existence and one of the "three indestructible minima" that proceed from God, is eternal and possesses infinite potency. In 'The Bruno Philosophy' Joyce notes:

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[123] Ibid, p. 87.
[124] Ibid, p. 126.
[125] Ibid, p. 128.
[126] Ibid, p. 80.

> His mysticism is little to allied to that of Molinos or to that of St. John of the Cross; there is nothing in it of quietism or of the dark cloister: it is strong, suddenly rapturous, and militant. The death of the body is for him the cessation of a mode of being, and in virtue of this belief and of that robust character 'prevaricating but firm', which is an evidence of that belief, he becomes of the number of those who loftily do not fear to die. For us his vindication of the freedom of intuition must seem an enduring monument, and among those who waged so honourable a war, his legend must seem the most honourable, more sanctified, and more ingenuous than that of Averroes or of Scotus Erigena. (*CW* 134)

In the Third Dialogue of *Cause, Principle and Unity*, Teofilo discusses the manner in which matter remains a permanent principle in nature through the infinite variation of forms:

> TEOFILO. Do you not see that what was seed becomes stalk, what was stalk becomes an ear of wheat, what was an ear becomes bread, what was bread turns to chyle, from chyle to blood, from blood to seed, from seed to embryo, and then to man, corpse, earth, stone or something else, in succession, involving all natural forms?
>
> GERVASIO. I see this easily.
>
> TEOFILO. Then, there must exist one same thing which, in itself, is neither stone, nor earth, nor corpse, nor man, nor embryo, nor

> blood, nor anything else, but which, after having been blood, turns to an embryo by receiving the being of the embryo, and which, after having been an embryo, receives the being of man to become human, just as the matter formed by nature, which is the substratum of art, is a board and receives the being of board from what was a tree, and from the matter which was a board it receives the being of a door and is a door.[127]

As Theoharis notes, there is an allusion to "Bruno's explanation of how divinity's static perfection is reduced to a series of fluctuating forms in the world of matter"[128] in 'Lestrygonians' in *Ulysses*. Two hours after Patrick Dignam's funeral, Leopold Bloom is sat in Davy's Byrne's pub on Duke Street enjoying a lunch of Gorgonzola cheese sandwiches and a glass of burgundy. The sight of two flies copulating on the windowpane prompts Bloom to reflect on an afternoon of love-making with Molly during their courtship, "Hidden under wild ferns on Howth". (*U* 8:901) Immediately after his recollection of their eucharistic oral exchange of the "seedcake warm and chewed", (*U* 8:907) Bloom ruminates over the differences in dietary requirements between the goddesses of Greek mythology, and the mortal denizens of inner-city Dublin, and ponders whether or not goddesses possess or need an alimentary canal:

> Can see them library museum standing in the round hall, naked goddesses. Aids to digestion. They don't care what man looks. All to see. Never speaking. I mean to say to fellows like Flynn.

[127] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, pp. 57-58.
[128] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, pp. 69-70.

> Suppose she did Pygmalion and Galatea what would she say first? Mortal! Put you in your proper place. Quaffing nectar at mess with gods golden dishes, ambroisal. Not like a tanner lunch we have, boiled mutton, turnips, bottles of Allsop. Nectar imagine it drinking electricity: god's food. Lovely forms of women sculped Junonian. Imortal lovely. And we stuffing food in one hole and out behind: food, chyle, blood, dung, earth, food: have to feed it like stoking an engine. They have no. Never looked. I'll look today. (*U* 8:921-31)

The "cloacal obsession"[129] that H. G. Wells detected in *A Portrait* in a review in *Nation* in 1917 is also a dimension of *Ulysses*, and can be largely identified with the consciousness of Bloom. Indeed, in a letter that Ezra Pound wrote to Joyce on 10 June 1919, after reading the manuscript of 'Sirens', he stated: "Abnormal keenness of insight O.K. But *obsessions* arseore-ial, cloacal, deist, aesthetic as opposed to arsethetic, any obsession or tic shd. be very carefully considered before being turned loose."[130] [sic] The cloacal does feature among Bloom's unusual obsessions, along with an awareness of the nutritious properties of human and animal faeces. In his trip to the "jakes" (*U* 2:494) in 'Calypso' the sight of the poor soil around the outhouse prompts Bloom to note that the soil would be improved with the addition of droppings from the "hens in the next garden." (*U* 2:479) He goes on to wonder: "Best of all though are the cattle, especially when they are fed on those oilcakes. Mulch of the dung. Best

[129] H. G. Wells, 'James Joyce', *Nation*, xx (24 February 1917), p. 710; *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage. Volume I: 1902-1927*, ed. Robert H. Denning (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 86.
[130] Ezra Pound, *The Letters of Ezra Pound: 1907-1941*, ed. D. D. Paige (London: Faber and

thing to clean ladies' kid gloves. Dirty cleans." (*U* 2.479-81) It could be argued that Bloom's awareness of the nutrient content of human and animal waste, and the apparent contradiction of "Dirty cleans", is suggestive of an incipient knowledge of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, and an apprehension of the infinite transformation of matter in nature. Although Bloom is extremely attentive to the vicissitudes and mutations of mundane and corporeal existence, and exhibits scientific pretensions ("It's only a natural phenomenon, don't you see" (*U* 12:464-65)), his perception of nature is not pantheistic. Although he has been baptised three times, Bloom is an agnostic who has an "inherited tenacity of heterodox resistance" and professes "disbelief in many orthodox religious, national, social and ethical doctrines." (*U* 17:25-6) According to Molly: "he never goes to mass or meeting he says your soul you have no soul inside only grey matter because he doesnt know what it is to have one yes". (*U* 18:141-43) He believes that human knowledge and aspiration can be attained "within the field of *phenomena*". Like the Nolan in *The Ash Wednesday Supper* he seems to stumble "over every bit of stone, every pebble"[131] of Dublin in his peregrination round the city on 16 June 1904, and he also has a knowledge of astronomy. However, in his rumination on the transformative and cyclical relationship between food and excrement, and the paradox of "Dirty cleans", Bloom does not divine the "great structures [of the universe]".[132] The infinite process of transformation that sees food become chyle become blood become dung become earth become food is for Bloom akin only to "stoking an engine". The celestial sphere of "naked goddesses" is separated from the infinite mutations and vicissitudes of temporal existence. The reference to *Cause, Principle and Unity*

Faber, 1951), p. 158.
[131] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, p. 69.

in *Ulysses* is manipulated and, as Theoharis notes, "Bloom has changed the order of Bruno's catalogue, and left reproduction out of his musings".[133] For Bloom, food progresses through change and variation to become food again. While in Bruno, "seed becomes stalk, what was stalk becomes an ear of wheat, what was an ear becomes bread, what was bread turns to chyle, from chyle to blood, from blood to seed, from seed to embryo, and then to man, corpse, earth, stone or something else, in succession, involving all natural forms". Throughout *Ulysses* Bloom is obsessed with the variety of natural phenomena; in 'Calypso' he demonstrates a knowledge of the doctrine of metempsychosis ("Metempsychosis, he said frowning. It's Greek: from the Greek. That means the transmigration of souls." (*U* 4:341-42) "Some people believe, he said, that we go on living in another body after death, that we lived before. They call it reincarnation. That we lived before on the earth thousands of years ago or some other planet. They say we have forgotten it. Some say they remember their past lives." (*U* 4:362-65)) He temporarily assumes Brunonian attributes in 'Circe'; and in 'Ithaca' both Bloom and Stephen become Nolan-like "heavenly bodies, wanderers like the stars at which they gaze." (*Letters I* 160) However, while he observes that "life in nature undergoes physical permutations to perfect itself",[134] Bloom does not yet come to apprehend the immanence of the divine in a material universe of composite and dissoluble forms. The corrupt Brunonian allusion in 'Lestrygonians' functions as a covert intimation of the "ontological order" that is slowly being elaborated in *Ulysses*. It is an intimation of a pantheistic mode of vision that is made manifest in the "last word (human all-too-human)" (*Letters I* 160) of *Ulysses* in 'Penelope'.

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[132] Ibid, p. 69.
[133] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 70.

As I have noted, in the immanentist ontology of Bruno, matter is not the "final term of degradation". It proceeds from the divine and is one of the "three indestructible minima". Bruno argues that matter is the substratum of all existence, and the divine is thus immanent in every form in the infinite universe of infinite worlds: "everything is intrinsic to everything else, [...] [and] all elements of the real rigorously imply all other elements and actually constitute only one reality." In the final Fifth Dialogue of *Cause, Principle and Unity* the Nolan posits the universe, the divine simulacrum, as an infinite, immobile and unified reality in which all identified contraries are coincident. As Teofilo states, the divine and infinite universe "comprehends all contraries in its being in unity and harmony."[135] In the conclusion of the Fifth Dialogue he argues that "he who wants to know the greatest secrets of nature should observe and examine the minima and maxima of contraries and opposites. There is profound magic in knowing how to extract the contrary from the contrary, after having discovered their point."[136]

In the pantheistic philosophy of Bruno humanity is always on the cusp of the divine. It is in the recognition of the operation of identified contraries in the material universe that the "lover of the true or the good" (*CW* 69) is able to countenance the divine as an immanent principle in nature. Although Joyce's engagement with the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries is "one of the clichés of Joyce criticism (especially criticism of *Finnegans Wake*)", with the exception of the research of Theoharis and Gose, there has been little or no attempt to explore the exact provenance of this doctrine, and there has been no sustained examination of how this axiomatic principle of Bruno's immanentist

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[134] Ibid, p. 70.
[135] Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity*, p. 87.

ontology functions within the writings of Joyce. In this section I have attempted to explicate the significance of this doctrine in the Nolan's writings, demonstrate the extent to which it is an integral and dynamic principle in his pantheistic philosophy, and discuss the manner in which the presence of such an immanentism is intimated in *Ulysses*. Although Theoharis has discussed the extent to which Bruno's pantheism influences the "ontological order" of *Ulysses*, and Gose has examined the manner in which the Joyce appropriates the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as a principle of formal and stylistic technique, no attempt has been made to ascertain the subversive nature of these engagements. The examination of the emergence and suppression of apologetic immanentism, and the sustained discussion of the pantheism of *Cause, Principle and Unity*, may be regarded as an instance of excessive contextualisation. However, as I have argued, there can be no knowledge of the radical nature of Joyce's dialogue with Bruno without a recognition of the conditions of constraint. I would argue that that an understanding of the fate of apologetic immanence provides the historicist critic of Joyce's engagement with contemporary Catholicism an extremely efficient means of ascertaining the subversive nature of Joyce's engagement with the Nolan's pantheistic philosophy. For the Ultramontane Vatican of Leo XIII and Pius X, the apologetic immanentism of the Roman Catholic Modernists was "the synthesis of all heresies". Although the scholars of Roman Catholic Modernism were pious Catholics and conservative reformers, they were anathematised as the "partisans of error". The immanentist nature of their "New Apologetic" was restricted to the recognition of an exigence for the transcendent within human consciousness,

[136] Ibid, p. 100.

and was in no way consonant with the ontological immanence of Bruno's philosophy. Bruno's pantheism is "radically anti-Christian" in character and design, and his writings have been on the *Index* since February 1600. Joyce was born and educated in a period in which an Ultramontane Vatican made an hypostasised scholasticism the touchstone of orthodoxy, and prosecuted any departure from the strictly demarcated parameters with *force majeure*. Any negotiation with the immanentist ontology of Bruno by a Catholic, whether clerical, lay or apostate, would have been regarded as spiritually dangerous, and a signification of an heretical alignment with the enemies of Christ and His Church. I would suggest that Joyce's engagement with the heretical philosophy of Bruno went beyond the appropriation of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as an innovative principle of formal and stylistic technique, and is a complex function of his "open war" with the Church of his upbringing and education. The immanentist ontology of Bruno proffers a sustaining mode of vision, and the presence of such a theory of being in *Ulysses* is a signification of a philosophical disengagement with the metaphysics of contemporary Catholicism. *Ulysses* is thus both a text of decolonisation, and the text in which Joyce demonstrates his liberation from the hegemony of the Church. In the final sections of this chapter I will discuss the manner in which the contrary constructed consciousnesses of *Ulysses*, Stephen Dedalus and Molly Bloom, mind and body, contest, intimate, and realise a Brunonian and immanentist mode of vision.

V: 'Pastor Steve, Apostate's Creed': Stephen Dedalus and Stasis in *Ulysses*.

STEPHEN

(*looks behind*) So that gesture, not music not odour, would be a universal language, the gift of tongues rendering visible not the lay sense but the first entelechy, the structural rhythm.

LYNCH

Pornosophical philotheology. Metaphysics in Mecklenburgh street! (*U* 15:108-110)

As a prosletysing critic in *The Egoist* Ezra Pound was instrumental in introducing Joyce to a wider critical audience as a cosmopolitan modernist who "accepts an international standard of prose writing and lives up to it."[137] He was responsible for arranging the serial publication of *A Portrait* in *The Egoist*. From March 1918 until October 1920, when 'Nausicaa' was "pinched by the PO-lice",[138] Pound was also editor at *The Little Review* and oversaw the printing of thirteen episodes of *Ulysses* and part of the fourteenth ('Telemachus' through to 'Oxen of the Sun' appeared in *The Little Review*.)

Joyce intended *Ulysses* to be a complex continuation of *A Portrait*, and Pound responded enthusiastically to the manuscript drafts that Joyce sent to him in London and Toulouse from 1917 onwards. In December 1917, having just read 'Telemachus', Pound wrote to Joyce and declared: "All I can say is Echt Dzoice, or Echt Joice, or however else you like it."[139] Upon reading 'Proteus' in

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[137] Pound, '"Dubliners" and Mr James Joyce', *The Egoist*, 1:14 (July 1914), p. 267; *Pound / Joyce*, p. 29.
[138] Ibid, p. 186.
[139] Ibid, p. 128.

May 1918 he again wrote to convey his approval: "Gawd damn it, it is Writing, with a large W. and no C."[140] Pound maintained his personal and professional support for *Ulysses*, and declared in *The Dial* in 1922 that Joyce's "veridic" presentation of "Ireland under British domination"[141] was a "triumph in form" and "as unrepeatable as Tristam Shandy."[142] However, it is evident from the letters that he wrote to Joyce during this period that he did have some reservations about *Ulysses*. He was particularly concerned with the manner in which Stephen Dedalus becomes gradually marginalised within the text, and the intellectualism and clinical precision of the interior monologues of the "jejeune jesuit" (*U* 1:45) give way to the "*obsessions* arseore-ial, cloacal, deist, aesthetic as opposed to arsethetic" of Leopold Bloom. The triumph of *A Portrait* is located in Joyce's meticulous representation of the development of the consciousness of Stephen in "a lucid supple periodic prose", (*P* 181) and in its intimate knowledge of the religious, political and cultural formations against which Stephen struggles. Although the first three episodes of *Ulysses* constitute the 'Telemachiad' and present an intimate portrayal of Stephen's consciousness on the morning of Thursday 16 June 1904, the tortured and uncommonly erudite consciousness of the apostate Catholic intellectual and aspiring literary artist is supplanted gradually by the comedic ruminations of the agnostic Jewish Dublin canvasser and cuckold, Leopold Bloom. In 'Ithaca' both Stephen and Bloom hear the bells of the church of Saint George chime the hour of the night. While this sound prompts Stephen, who is wracked with guilt and is in mourning for his mother, to hear a fragment from the Prayers for the Dying: "*Liliata rutilantium. Turma circumdet. / Iubilantium te virginum. Chorus excipiat*", Bloom, who

[140] Ibid, p. 143.
[141] 'PARIS LETTER', *The Dial*, 72:6 (June 1922), pp. 623-629; ibid, p. 198.

lacks the young man's formal education and perversely accurate knowledge of Catholic liturgy, rite and dogma, merely hears: "*Heigho, heigho, / Heigho, heigho.*" (*U* 17: 1230-32) As Joseph Kelly argues in *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon*, Pound was relatively disdainful of the merits of Irish culture, religion and politics and privileged the aesthetics and cultural politics of an international metropolitan modernism. (Indeed, Pound speculated famously in an article on *A Portrait* in *The Egoist* in February 1917: "If more people had read *The Portrait* and certain stories in Mr. Joyce's *Dubliners* there might have been less recent trouble in Ireland.")[143] The shift in *Ulysses* from the intimate portrayal of the consciousness of Stephen to Bloom was an unwelcome sign of vacillation, and a possible signification of a *rapprochement* with the bourgeois and materialist culture of high capitalism. By June 1919 Pound was writing to Joyce to ask: "Where in hell is Stephen Tellemachus?"[144]

In *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'* Frank Budgen recalls that Joyce once remarked to him: "I have just got a letter asking me why I don't give Bloom a rest. The writer of it wants more Stephen. But Stephen no longer interests me to the same extent. He has a shape that cannot be changed."[145] In *Ulysses* Stephen is a truly tragic figure, and his fixed nature is related intimately to his, as yet, unsuccessful struggle to free himself from a condition of spiritual "servitude"[146] to the Roman Catholic Church. In Chapter 5 of *A Portrait* the young intellectual declares to Cranly:

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[142] Ibid, p. 196.
[143] 'James Joyce: At Last the Novel Appears', *The Egoist*, 4:2 (February 1917), pp. 21-22; ibid, p. 90.
[144] Ibid, p. 158.
[145] Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making 'Ulysses' and Other Writings*, ed. Clive Hart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 107.
[146] James Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist', *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, ed. Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 63.

> — Look here, Cranly, he said. You have asked me what I would do and what I would not do. I will tell you what I will do and what I will not do. I will not serve that in which I no longer believe whether it call itself my home, my fatherland or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use — silence, exile and cunning. (*P* 268-69)

However, in *Ulysses* Stephen is a "server of a servant", (*U* 1:312) and a "servant of two masters, [...] The imperial British state, [...] and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church." (*U* 1:638-644) Although he is an apostate, and refuses to give his intellectual assent to the rationalism of Catholic apologetic, he has not yet realised a sustaining mode of vision.

In *Stephen Hero* Stephen Daedalus discloses a "genuine predisposition in favour of all but the premisses of scholasticism." (*SH* 81) While he is unable to apprehend the transcendent reality of a religion that is "logical and coherent", Stephen Dedalus's mind in *Ulysses* is still supersaturated with the liturgy, rites and dogma of the religious faith in which he avows his disbelief. His intellectual and artistic theories are derived from a profane and piratical appropriation of the scholastic and patristic authors whose writings form the philosophical basis of Catholic apologetic. In *The Transformation Process* Gose argues, "As an intellectual, Stephen is more at home in ideas than in everyday reality, more

comfortable with the dialectical process than the process of becoming."[147] Furthermore, the concept of authorship that he advances in the reading room of the National Library of Ireland in 'Scylla and Charybdis', in his discussion of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, a text which, according to Hilary Gatti, contains Brunonian elements,[148] is derived and adapted from orthodox and heretical theological elucidations of the Holy Trinity. In the formulation of his argument he draws on the method of the *Spiritual Exercises* ("Composition of place. Ignatius Loyola, make haste to help me!" (*U* 9:163), and he employs freely the philosophical authority of Aristotle and Aquinas to legitimise his thesis ("Saint Thomas, Stephen smiling said, whose gorbellied works I enjoy reading in the original" (*U* 9:778-79)). As I have argued, *A Portrait* is the text in which Joyce signifies his heretical intent and *Ulysses* is the text in which he realises an heretical practice. Scholasticism is an extrinsic and transcendental theologico-philosophical system and precludes the possibility of an immanentist ontological conception of reality. Anchored intellectually to the stasis of the extrinsic rationalism of scholastic and patristic thought, and unable to perceive material existence as anything other than a sublunary world of generation, decay and corruption, Stephen Dedalus is incapable of apprehending a mystical conception of reality and will not become the author of *Ulysses*. As Eamon Hughes observes wryly in a recent article in *The Irish Review*, "Joyce writes the prose that Stephen aspires to; while Stephen tells us the problem, Joyce shows the solution."[149] Stephen "has a shape that cannot be changed". In *A Portrait*,

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[147] Gose, *The Transformation Process*, p. xiv.

[148] See Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England* (London: Routledge, 1989), particularly, Chapter 5: 'Bruno and Shakespeare: *Hamlet*', pp. 114-162.

[149] Eamon Hughes, 'Forgetting the Future: An Outline History of Irish Literary Studies', *The Irish Review*, 25 (Winter-Spring 1999/2000), p. 6.

through the fate of mutations, from infancy to adolescence, Stephen passes "from contraries, through contraries, into contraries, to contraries". On 16 June 1904 he is in a condition of existential stasis. His status as an "heretic or an outlaw" (*P* 267) has been usurped by the blaspheming and sacrilegious Buck Mulligan, and when Bloom encounters Stephen finally in Holles Street maternity hospital in 'Oxen of the Sun', he is stupefied with alcohol and seems to have accepted reluctantly his designated role as the "loveliest mummer of them all", (*U* 1:97-8) and suffers to play the part of a debauched spoiled priest: "Jay, look at the drunken minister coming out of the maternity hospal!" (*U* 14:1444-45) His Luciferian disavowal of the rites and claims of the Church has not yet precipitated the realisation of a sustaining mode of vision. Affirmation has not issued forth from negation.

In the final diary entries of *A Portrait* Stephen notes:

> *26 April:* Mother is putting my new secondhand clothes in order. She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it. Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race.
>
> *27 April:* Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead. (*P* 275-76)

Exile in Paris has not resulted in the realisation of Stephen's aspirations, and in 'Proteus' disappointment and cynicism reduce the soaring enthusiasm of the exultant prose of the diary entries of *A Portrait*:

> Fabulous artificer. The hawklike man. You flew. Whereto? Newhaven-Dieppe, steerage passenger. Paris and back. Lapwing. Icarus. *Pater, ait.* Seabedabbled, fallen, weltering. Lapwing you are. Lapwing be. (*U* 9:952-54)

In the opening three episodes of *Ulysses* it is evident that Stephen's refusal to countenance the claims of family, faith and fatherland has exacted a terrible price. His literary ambition to "express myself [...] as freely as I can and as wholly as I can", and to "encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race", has not yet been realised. As Vincent Costello reminds Stephen in 'Oxen of the Sun', his intellectual and artistic potential is unfulfilled, and will remain so until "something more, and greatly more, than a capful of light odes can call your genius father." (*U* 14:1116-18) His attempt to "fly by" the "nets" of "nationality, language, religion" (*P* 220) has failed; he is no nearer to attaining a condition of existential certitude and he is trapped in a stasis of guilt, confusion and despair. His attempt to study medicine ("Paysayenn. P. C. N., you know: *physiques, chimiques et naturelles*" (*U* 3:176-77)) in Paris has proved abortive. His sojourn in the Latin Quarter has yielded no more than a taste for French pornography, the experience of drinking "green fairy" (*U* 3:217) with an old Fenian, Kevin Egan, whom he imagines as an absinthe-soaked vampire ("Green eyes, I see you. Fang,

I feel." (*U* 3:238)), and yet more study of "medieval abstrusiosities." (*U* 3:320) His return to Dublin is finally occasioned by the news of his mother's terminal illness:

> You were going to do wonders, what? Missionary to Europe after fiery Columbanus. Fiacre and Scotus on their creepystools in heaven spilt from their pintpots, loudlatinlaughing: *Euge! Euge!* Pretending to speak broken English as you dragged your valise, porter threepence, across the slimy pier at Newhaven. *Comment?* Rich booty you brought back; *Le Tutu*, five tattered numbers of *Pantalon Blanc at Culotte Rouge*; a blue French telegram, curiosity to show:
>
> — Nother dying come home father. (*U* 3:192-99)

In the textual space that exists between *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* Stephen's mother has died. His grief for her death is compounded by the unremitting guilt, "Agenbite of inwit", (*U* 1:481) that he feels for his refusal, as Mulligan reminds him in 'Telemachus', to "kneel down and pray for your mother on her deathbed when she asked you." (*U* 1:208-9) Indeed, the first the reader is made aware of the recent death of Stephen's mother is when Mulligan announces unexpectedly: "The aunt thinks that you killed your mother, he said. That's what she won't let me have anything to do with you." (*U* 1:88-9) It is a monumental accusation to be levelled at the very start of the novel, and Stephen is tormented by the charge that it was his loss of faith and godlessness, and not cancer, which killed his mother. Throughout *Ulysses* "Memories beset his brooding brain" (*U* 1:266-67)

and Stephen is haunted by the accusatory shade of his mother. "Her glazing eyes, staring out of death" (*U* 1:273) remind him again and again of the spiritual danger of his "Nego"[150] and beseech him to return to the forgiving arms of Mother Church.

After the death of his mother Stephen left his father's house "To seek misfortune," (*U* 16:254) and is fearful of the poverty into which his family has now subsided. In 'Telemachus' he is established in a bohemian residence in a Martello tower in Sandycove that is rented from the "secretary of state for war," (*U* 1:540) along with Buck Mulligan and Haines, and which has been re-named the "*omphalos*." (*U* 1:544) Mulligan, who appears in *A Portrait* as the flatulent Goggins (*P* 250), is a middle-class Irish Catholic who is a medical student at Trinity College, and who has returned recently to Dublin after a period of study at Oxford. Haines is a friend of Mulligan who has come to Ireland to study "wild Irish." (*U* 1:731) An anti-Semitic Oxford-educated Englishman, Stephen perceives him as a representative of the imperial British state: "The seas' ruler". (*U* 1:573) His detached study of the language and folklore of Gaelic Irish culture displays an ideological affiliation to the proprietal and orientalist nature of imperial British culture. Like the "green stone" that is set in the "smooth silver case" from which Haines offers Stephen a cigarette (*U* 1:615-17), the Irish language and culture is a possession of the imperial British state, a curious object of scholarly study. In 'Telemachus' the twenty-two year-old and single Stephen is "displeased and sleepy" (*U* 1:13) and is preparing reluctantly to go to his work as a "gentleman usher" (*U* 16:158) at a private boys' school in Dalkey. After an evening of alcoholic indulgence in which he has lost his spectacles, the

[150] Joyce, 'A Portrait of the Artist', *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 67.

extremely myopic Stephen is crapulous; he is also shaken physically after a disturbed night in which Haines was "raving and moaning to himself about shooting a black panther." (*U* 1:61-2) He has not washed in a month and his financial situation is precarious. He is indebted to many of his friends and acquaintances in Dublin, and the wage that he is to receive is set to be dissipated in an all-day drinking session and not in the remuneration of his creditors: "Mulligan, nine pounds, three pairs of socks, one pair brogues, ties. Curran ten guineas. McCann, one guinea. Fred Ryan, two shillings. Temple, two lunches. Russell, one guinea, Cousins, ten shilling, Bob Reynolds, half a guinea, Koehler, three guineas, Mrs MacKenna, five weeks board. The lump I have is useless." (*U* 2:255-59) His attire is "threadbare" (*U* 1:106), and he is forced to endure the humiliation of Mulligan offering to provide him with "new secondhand clothes." As he mounts the platform of the Martello tower on the morning of 16 June 1904, he is painfully aware of his recent loss, and the subservient nature of the cultural, political and socio-economic relationship that exists between Mulligan and Haines and himself. While Stephen is the Irish artist who would forge in the smithy of his soul the uncreated conscience of his race, Haines and Mulligan are perceived as Ireland's "conqueror and her gay betrayer". (*U* 1:406)

Stephen is Mulligan's reluctant and hesitant "watcher," (*U* 1:30) who follows him "wearily", "watching him still" (*U* 1:36-7) as the "wellfed voice" (*U* 1:107) declaims his sacrilegious utterances. Where Mulligan is crude and demonstrative in speech and exhibits a colourful talent for invective, Stephen is reserved and quiet, and it is only in the tortured reflections and tortured syntax of his interior monologues that his perceptions and thoughts are made manifest. Stephen is dismissive of the Wildean and Nietzschean pretensions of Mulligan

("He who stealeth from the poor lendeth to the Lord. Thus spake Zarathrustra." (*U* 1:727-28)), and his mandarin scheme to "do something for the island. Hellenise it." (*U* 1:158) However, he does react in a complex fashion to the manner in which Mulligan blasphemously travesties and mocks the sacred rites and doctrines of the Church. For Stephen, Mulligan is a "Usurper." (*U* 1:744) Mulligan is relentless in his attack on the rites and dogmas of the Church. In the opening lines of 'Telemachus' he parodies the liturgy of Holy Mass: "*Introibo ad altare Dei.*" (*U* 1:4) He employs a caustic and pseudo-scientific wit to mock the sacred mystery of transubstantiation and imagines the celebrant as a conjuror: "For this, O dearly beloved, is the genuine christine: body and soul and blood and ouns. Slow music, please. Shut your eyes, gents. One moment. A little trouble about those white corpuscles. Silence, all." (*U* 1:21-23) After hearing "The ballad of joking Jesus" recited by Mulligan, Haines is inclined to believe that the "gaiety" of his blasphemy "takes the harm out of it, somehow". (*U* 1:607-9) While it might be presumed that Mulligan and Stephen would be confederates leagued together in opposition to the Church, Stephen is extremely weary of Mulligan's crude anticlericalism and effortless blasphemy, and reflects with bitter irony on the opposition between the majesty and spiritual power of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church and the heresiarchical masquerading of Mulligan:

> The proud potent titles clanged over Stephen's memory the triumph of their brazen bells: *et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolican ecclesiasm*: the slow growth and change of rite and dogma like his own rare thoughts, a chemistry of stars. Symbol of

> the apostles in the mass for pope Marcellus, the voices blended, singing alone loud in affirmation: and behind their chant the vigilant angel of the church militant disarmed and menaced her heresiarchs. A horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry: Photius and the brood of mockers of whom Mulligan was one, and Arius, warring his life long upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and Valentine, spurning Christ's terrene body, and the subtle African heresiarch Sabellius who held that the Father was Himself His own Son. Words Mulligan had spoken a moment since in mockery to the stranger. Idle mockery. The void awaits surely all them that weave the wind: a menace, a disarming and a worsting from those embattled angels of church, Michael's host, who defend her ever in the hour of conflict with their lances and their shields.
>
> Hear, hear! Prolonged applause. *Zut! Nom de Dieu!* (*U* 1:650-65)

The reaction that Stephen evinces towards Mulligan is partly a suspicion and distrust of the sincerity of Mulligan's pronounced hostility towards, and disrespect for, the sacred practices and doctrines of Catholicism. While Mulligan is crudely irreligious, Stephen has a residual reverence for the sacraments and is in search of a sustaining ontology. Mulligan is a privileged member of the generation of middle class university-educated Irish Catholics who anticipated occupying significant and influential positions in an emergent Home Rule Ireland. These aspirations were to be disrupted by the events of Easter 1916, the

War of Independence, and the Civil War, and the subsequent institutionalisation of Irish republican nationalism in the Irish Free State and the Republic of Ireland under Eamon de Valera. However, in 1904 such an individual as Mulligan could expect to occupy a prominent position within the dominant Catholic bourgeois class formation of a Home Rule Ireland. In this respect, his residency in the Martello and his mannered anticlericalism and blasphemy smacks of stereotypical bohemianism. It is the effortless and disingenuous radical posturing of a privileged bourgeois that elicits the internal censure of Stephen. He is resentful of the manner in which the literary establishment of Dublin talks "seriously of mocker's seriousness." (*U* 9:544) Although Mulligan teases Stephen, calling him a "lovely mummer", (*U* 1:97) it is Mulligan who masquerades as an "outlaw or an heretic" and who ingratiates himself with the Englishman Haines. His "Idle mockery" and comic debasement of the sacraments is motivated by a disingenuous taste for notoriety and does not issue from an existential need to realise a philosophical and spiritual condition of certitude.

Stephen has yet to apprehend such a sustaining mode of vision. Although he is an apostate, the ontology and apologetics of the Church occupy a powerful hold on his imagination. It is a hold that is intensified by the recent death of his pious and devout mother. In 'Scylla and Charybdis' Stephen engages in a speculative discussion of ghosts. Although John Eglinton is resistant to an examination of the supernatural content of *Hamlet*, and is disinclined to view the play as a "ghoststory," (*U* 9:141) Stephen argues that there are different kinds of phantasmal presences — memories of the past, the insurmountable burdens of personal and political history that overshadow the present — which cannot be

viewed simply as supernatural emanations: "What is a ghost? Stephen said with tingling energy. One that has faded through death, through absence, through change of manners." (*U* 9:147-48) The memory of the death of his mother is linked inextricably and painfully to his attempt to disavow the rights and claims of the Church. The shade of May Dedalus haunts his imagination throughout the day, and the legacy of her early death to cancer encourages him to perceive material existence as a sphere of generation, decay and corruption, in which all life is subject to the whim of "imaginary divinities, cruel and unfathomable, who look down from the heavenly heights, controlling the sublunary world in a mysterious way."

In 'Telemachus' Mulligan is presented as a crude and vulgar materialist whose medical experience of cutting up corpses "into tripe in the dissectingroom" of the Mater and Richmond Hospital has encouraged him to view death as a "beastly thing and nothing else." (*U* 1:206-7) He is insensitive towards the guilt and grief of Stephen. He refuses to apologise for the offence of a remark that he had made shortly after the death of May Dedalus, when he had said to his own mother: "*O, it's only Dedalus whose mother is beastly dead.*" (*U* 1:198-99) Mulligan is frustrated by the manner in which Stephen's psychological torment is distracting him from the frivolous concerns of his hyperbolic posturing, and declares: "Look at the sea. What does it care about offences? Chuck Loyola, Kinch, and come on down. The Sassenach wants his morning rashers." (*U* 1:231-32) However, the confrontation has left Stephen "shielding the gaping wounds which the words had left in his heart," (*U* 1:216-17) and he struggles to stare out over Dublin Bay through his tears: "Stephen stood at his post, gazing over the calm sea towards the headland. Sea and

handland grew dim. Pulses were beating in his eyes, veiling their sight, and he felt the fever of his cheeks." (*U* 1:22-26) As the day becomes overcast Stephen's perception of the bay and headland also becomes gradually overshadowed by his own grief:

> A cloud began to cover the sun slowly, wholly, shadowing the bay in deeper green. It lay beneath him, a bowl of bitter waters. Fergus' song: I sang it alone in the house, holding down the long dark chords. Her door was open: she wanted to hear my music. Silent with awe and pity I went to her bedside. She was crying in her wretched bed. For those words, Stephen: love's bitter mystery. (*U* 1:248-53)
>
> [...]
>
> In a dream, silently, she had come to him, her wasted body within its loose graveclothes giving off an odour of wax and rosewood, her breath bent over him with mute secret words, a faint odour of wetted ashes.
>
> Her glazing eyes, staring out of death, to shake and bend my soul. On me alone. The ghostcandle to light her agony. Ghostly light on the tortured face. Her hoarse loud breath rattling in horror, while all prayed on their knees. Her eyes on me to strike me down. *Liliata rutilantium te confessorum turma circumdet: iubilantium te virginum chorous excipiat.*
>
> Ghoul! Chewer of corpses!
>
> No, mother! Let me be and let me live. (*U* 1:265-79)

Stephen is unable to countenance the sea as "our great sweet mother." (*U* 1:80) Instead, his perception of the material world is infected by his morbid preoccupations: "The ring of bay and skyline held a dull green mass of liquid. A bowl of white china had stood beside her deathbed holding the sluggish bile which she had torn up from her rotting liver by fits of loud groaning vomitting." (*U* 1:107-10) In *Stephen Hero* Stephen Daedalus describes his arguments with his mother about his refusal to receive the sacraments as his "conflict with orthodoxy." (*SH* 140-41) May Dedalus is both a victim of Catholicism, and an ardent and devoted adherent. As Gose argues in *The Transformation Process*, her "'pure faith' in Catholic doctrine [...] brought her more children than her body could stand."[151] However, in her belief in the infallibility of an Ultramontane Vatican, she is a devout advocate of the authority of Mother Church. In Stephen's tortured imagination the ghost of his mother is identified with an authoritarian Church; she is a spectral representation of the "lord of all things as they are whom the most Roman of catholics call *dio boia*, hangman god". (*U* 9:1048-49) In Samuel Beckett's *Mercier and Camier*, Camier asks Mercier: "Is it our little omniomni you are trying to abuse? [...] You should know better. It's he on the contrary fucks thee. Omniomni, the all-unfuckable."[152] Although Stephen never evinces such manifest contempt and hatred for the divine, he does perceive and fear the omnipotent and omniscient God of Roman Catholicism as a vengeful deity. Like the "hangman god", his mother is imagined as a terrifying "Ghoul! Chewer of corpses!" who threatens to strike him down.

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[151] Gose, *The Transformation Process*, p. 134.
[152] Samuel Beckett, *Mercier and Camier*, trans. Samuel Beckett (London: John Calder, 1974), p.

'Circe' is the phantasmagoric episode of *Ulysses* in which the repressed arises from the subconscious of both Stephen and Bloom. "Stephen's collapse" (*U* 17:17) in a terrifying hallucinatory sequence in 'Circe' is occasioned by a further, and final, phantasmal appearance. The shade of May Dedalus appears accompanied by a "*choir of virgins and confessors*" (*U* 15:4162) and beseeches him to pray for her soul and for all the suffering souls in purgatory. She reminds Stephen of her love for him, and of the devotional acts and spiritual exercises she has offered, and continues to offer, for the well-being of his soul: "Who had pity for you when you were sad among the strangers? Prayer is allpowerful. Prayer for the suffering souls in the Ursuline manual and forty days' indulgence. Repent, Stephen." (*U* 15:4196-98) The confrontation between Stephen and his mother is intense and precipitates an apocalyptic scene that empties the brothel. May Dedalus petitions her son to repent his sins and return to the forgiving arms of Mother Church. Stephen refuses to submit to the spiritual authority of the Church; he repeats his Luciferian disavowal of its rights and claims, and strikes and smashes a chandelier in the musicroom of the brothel:

THE MOTHER

(*with smouldering eyes*) Repent! O, fire of hell!

STEPHEN

(*panting*) His noncorrosive sublimate! The corpsechewer! Raw head and bloody bones.

THE MOTHER

26.

(*her face drawing near and nearer, sending out an ashen breath*) Beware! (*she raises her blackened withered right arm slowly towards Stephen's breast with outstretched finger*) Beware God's hand!

(*a green crab with malignant red eyes sticks its grinning claws in Stephen's heart.*)

STEPHEN

(*strangled with rage, his features grey and old*) Shite!

BLOOM

(*at the window*) What?

STEPHEN

Ah non, par example! The intellectual imagination! With me all or not at all. *Non serviam!*

FLORRY

Give him some cold water. Wait. (*she rushes out*)

THE MOTHER

(*wrings her hands slowing, moaning desperately*) O Sacred heart of Jesus, have mercy on him! Save him from hell, O Divine Sacred Heart!

STEPHEN

No! No! No! Break my spirit, all of you, if you can! I'll bring you all to heel!

THE MOTHER

(*in the agony of her deathrattle*) Have mercy on Stephen, Lord, for my sake! Inexpressible was my anguish when expiring with love, grief and agony and Mount Calvary.

STEPHEN

Nothung!

(*He lifts his ashplant high with both hands and smashes the chandelier. Time's livid final flame leaps and, in the following darkness, ruin of all space, shattered glass and toppling masonry.*) (*U* 15:4211-45)

The terrifying events of 'Circe' occur after midnight on 16 June. However, the repressed desires, fantasies and fears of Stephen and Bloom that are manifested in this episode are located within the subconscious of both characters, and are thus latent and spectral presences in the text that influence and shape their perceptions and motivate their actions throughout the day. The guilt, grief and anger that Stephen feels, and which erupts in 'Circe', overshadows his every thought. It is a powerful nexus of negative emotion that ensnares Stephen in a condition of existential stasis. After a morning of "futile" (*U* 2:139) teaching at the boys' school in Dalkey, Stephen walks "into eternity along Sandymount strand" (*U* 2:18-19) and meditates on the vicissitudes and mutations of the material universe that his sense perceptions apprehend on the seashore: "Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing of the tide, that rusty boot. Snotgreen, bluesilver, rust: coloured signs. Limits of the diaphane." (*U* 3:1-4) Budgen recalls that Joyce

said of 'Proteus': "It's the struggle with Proteus. Change is the theme. Everything changes — sea, sky, man, animals. The words change, too."[153] It can be suggested that such an emphasis on the dynamic and transformative potentiality of all "things" in an animistic nature is an intimation of a privileging of a Brunonian conception of reality. Indeed, Theoharis, Gose and Umberto Eco all identify in 'Proteus' a signification of a mystical conception of nature. In *The Transformation Process* Gose suggests that in 'Proteus' Stephen comes to accept an existence of "physical process, personal transformation and spiritual transformation."[154] In *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos* Eco argues that in this episode the principle of universal becoming that forms the ontological basis of Joyce's radical poetics in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* is realised finally:

> It is not so much the content but the form of Stephen's thoughts which signals the passage from an orderly cosmos to a fluid and watery chaos. Here death and rebirth, the outlines of objects, human destiny itself become amorphous and poignant with possibilities. This is 'Proteus', a universe in which new connections are established among things. 'Proteus' takes us to the centre of *Ulysses* and provides the basis of a world dominated by metamorphosis which continuously produces new centers of relations.[155]

[153] Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'*, p. 49.
[154] Gose, *The Transformation Process*, p. 35.
[155] Umberto Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, trans. Ellen Esrock (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), p. 36.

Certainly Stephen's sensorial perception of the protean mutations of corporeal existence on Sandymount Strand does suggest an apprehension of a fluid and dynamic cosmos in "which new connections are established among things". However, I would suggest that in 'Proteus' there is an intimation and not a realisation of the Brunonian mode of vision that is privileged in *Ulysses*.

Although Stephen attempts to apprehend the "reality of experience" through the "Ineluctable modality of the visible" and the "ineluctable modality of the audible", (*U* 3:13) the lacerating introspection of his examination of conscience ("Agenbite of inwit") distorts his mode of vision. Again, "Memories beset his brooding brain", and he reflects on his sojourn in Paris, his failed literary ambition, the death of his mother, and the poverty into which the remainder of his family has sunk. He mocks the sincerity of his former faith: "You were awfully holy, weren't you? You prayed to the Blessed Virgin that you might not have a red nose. You prayed to the devil in Serpentine avenue that the fubsy widow in front might lift her clothes still more from the wet street." (*U* 3:128-31) And he scornfully recalls his heterodox search for mystical and spiritual sustenance in the "fading prophecies of Joachim Abbas." (*U* 3:108) For Stephen the God of creation, "whom the most Roman of catholics call *dio boia*, hangman god", is a transcendent and vengeful deity who has the infinite power to create and destroy the forms of nature. In the orthodox apologetics of Catholicism the divine is conceived as an extrinsic and not an intrinsic principle in the universe. All life comes from God, and returns to Him. The determinant things of corporeal existence are doomed to enjoy a temporary and transient formal stay against the confusion and chaos of undetermined and unessential matter. While he reflects that "These heavy sands are language tide and wind

have silted here", (*U* 2:298-99) his determination to read the "Signatures of all things" is corrupted by his perception of the material universe as a sublunary sphere of generation, decay and corruption. The "things" that Stephen contemplates on the strand are detrita; they are forms which the sea has thrown on to the shore and which are now in the process of decay and dissolution. The wasted eggs of fishes, rotting seaweed ("seaspawn and seawrack") and empty seashells decompose on the "Unwholesome sandflats": an amorphous and unstable topography that breathes "upward sewage breath". (*U* 3:150-51) Moreover, Stephen's attempt to read the "Signatures of all things" is indicative of his failure to realise a more sustaining and mystical conception of reality, a conception that is imperative if he is to become the author of *Ulysses*. Signatures are the secondary marks of all that is actual and possible in the material universe. A signature is a mark that alludes to an absence. Bruno argued that the material universe is a simulacrum of God, and not His signature. The divine is conceived as an immanent and not an absent principle in nature. As I have noted, in the immanentist writings of Bruno, which Theoharis, Gose and Eco agree form the philosophical basis of Joyce's radical poetics in *Ulysses*, death and formal destruction have no ontological status and are not to be feared. In an infinite universe in which the divine is conceived as immanent in nature matter is not the "final term of degradation" and there can be no loss of being. Matter is one of the "three indestructible minima to which everything is finally reduced and which ensures the everlastingness of the universe." However, as Stephen walks along the strand ("Crush, crack, crick, crick" (*U* 3:19)) he is unable to free himself from a morbid perception of nature. The "boulders of the south wall" are "piled stone mammoth skulls." (*U* 3:206-7) The multiform things of a multiform

reality are apprehended as merely detrita; and his life, his family, and the modes of existence available to him, are "Houses of decay, mine, [...] all." (*U* 3:105)

In *James Joyce* Patrick Parrinder writes:

> Shakespeare was included in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* not only because of his comic potential but because Joyce wished these books to be all-embracing. God, in the form of the world's major books and scriptures, is in them too. Joyce was a lifelong admirer of the Italian Renaissance philosopher Giordano Bruno, whose teaching can be summed up in the proverb 'Extremes meet'. One of the best-known grotesque examples of a meeting of extremes in the English language is in the fact that *god*, spelt backwards, becomes *dog*.[156]

Theoharis notes that the contrary forms of "*god*" and "*dog*" are made proximate and reconciled in 'Proteus'. He argues that this coincidence of contraries is an important moment in which the vestigial yet privileged presence that Bruno's ontological immanentism occupies in *Ulysses* is signified most clearly. Stephen's apparent apprehension of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries suggests the realisation of a liberating moment of ontological catharsis. The sight of two midwives descending from Leahy's Terrace on to the strand provokes Stephen to contemplate conception, birth and the God of creation. However, as he conceives of the divine as a vengeful deity, the "*dio boia*, hangman god", he views creation as a random and undiscriminating act of

[156] Patrick Parrinder, *James Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 13.

violence. Existence is not perceived as the miraculous gift of a benevolent and loving God, but a sublunary sphere of generation, decay and corruption in which the chaotic and analogously feminine principle of matter predominates. He associates the midwives with death and not life, and speculates that the "midwife's bag" (*U* 3:32) contains "A misbirth with a trailing navelcord, hushed in ruddy wool." (*U* 3:36-7). Stephen imagines his own birth and conception as brutal and squalid events mired in sin and violence; and existence is contemplated as a curse:

> From the Liberties, out for the day. Mrs Florence MacCabe, relict of the late Patk MacCabe, deeply lamented, of Bride Street. One of her sisterhood lugged me squealing into life. Creation from nothing. (*U* 3:33-5)

> Wombed in sin darkness I was too, made not begotten. By them, the man with my voice and my eyes and a ghostwoman with ashes on her breath. They clasped and sundered, did the coupler's will. From before the ages. He willed me and now will not will me away or ever. A *lex eterna* stays about Him. (*U* 3:45-9)

When Stephen gazes into the "cracked lookingglass of a servant" (*U* 1:146) that Mulligan proffers him in 'Telemachus' he muses: "Hair on end. As he and others see me. Who chose this face for me? This dogsbody to rid of vermin." (*U* 1:136-7) His perception of himself as a "This dogsbody to rid of vermin" is prompted partly by Mulligan's gibe that Stephen, in his wearing of

Mulligan's castoffs, is a "poor dogsbody!" (*U* 1:112) Stephen's self-disgust is also occasioned by his morbid perception of the corporeal world. Fearful and contemptuous of the God of creation, he also shakes at a "cur's yelping"; (*U* 3:318) and a dog, as Theoharis notes, is "God's orthographical contrary".[157] As he engages in morbid meditation on the futility and cruelty of corporeal existence he sights "A bloated carcass of a dog [...] on bladderwrack." (*U* 3:294) "A point, live dog" (*U* 3:295) is also running on the sands. Stephen fears that the dog will attack him. However, it inspects energetically the cockle-pickers and the multiform detrita of the seashore and strand and approaches the "bloated carcass":

> A woman and a man. I see her skirties. Pinned up, I bet.
>
> Their dog ambled about a bank of dwindling sand, trotting, sniffing on all sides. Looking for something lost in a past life. Suddenly he made off like a bounding hare, ears flung back, chasing the shadow of a lowskimming gull. The man's shrieked whistle struck his limp ears. He turned, bounded back, came nearer, trotted on twinkling shanks. On a field tenney a buck, trippant, proper, unattired. At the lacefringe of the tide he halted with stiff forehoofs, seawardpointed ears. His snout lifted barked at the wavenoise, herds of seamorse. They serpented towards his feet, curling, unfurling many crests, every ninth, breaking, plashing, from far, from farther out, waves and waves.

[157] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 71.

> Cocklepickers. They waded a little way in the water and, stooping, soused their bags and, lifting them again, waded out. The dog yelped running to them, reared up and pawed them, dropping on all fours, again reared up at them with mute bearish fawning. Unheeded he kept by them as they came towards the drier sand, a rag of wolf's tongue redpanting from his jaws. His speckled body ambled ahead of them and then loped off at a calf's gallop. The carcass lay on his path. He stopped, sniffed, stalked round it, brother, nosing closer, went round it, sniffing rapidly like a dog all over the dead dog's bedraggled fell. Dogskull, dogsniff, eyes on the ground, moves to one great goal. Ah, poor dogsbody! Here lies poor dogsbody's body.
>
> — Tatters! Outofthat, you mongrel! (*U* 3:331-53)

In this protean passage the dog is imagined as progressing through a number of forms. The dog becomes a "bounding hare", a stag or "buck", a bear, a wolf, a calf, and finally a dog again. Stephen goes on to perceive the dog become the fox from the riddle that he gave to his pupils ("Something he buried there, his grandmother" (*U* 3:360-61)), a leopard, a panther, and a vulture: "He rooted in the sand, dabbling, delving and stopped to listen to the air, scraped up the sand again with a fury of his claws, soon ceasing, a pard, a panther, got in spousebreach, vulturing the dead." (*U* 3:361-64). The dog, "God's orthographical contrary", passes through vicissitude and mutation to become a dog again, as God, the divine, exists as an immanent being in the infinite vicissitudes and mutations of nature. Also, the dog in the sniffing the "bloated

carcass" is imagined as moving "to one great goal", which echoes the phrase that Deasy employs in his eschatological pronouncement to Stephen in 'Nestor': "All of human history moves towards one great goal, the manifestation of God." In this instance the "manifestation of God" is posited as the rotting corpse of a dog. Theoharis argues that the "series of transformation [is] organized exactly according to ideas from Bruno cited in Bloom's thoughts about food on Olympus versus food on earth."[158] While the progression of the dog through various forms is suggestive of a Brunonian principle of universal becoming, and the orthographical proximity of "*god*" and "*dog*" is suggestive of the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries, I would argue that Stephen has not yet realised a sustaining and dynamic mode of vision. The dog, the identified orthographical contrary of God, passes through the forms of a series of wild and predatory beasts and birds of prey (hare, bear, wolf, fox, leopard, panther and vulture); and, as Theoharis observes, "Stephen, in heretical bitterness, thinks of God as operating like a carrion and scavenger in the two dogs, in himself, and in the world at large."[159] Such a deity is consonant with Stephen's perception of his mother in 'Circe' as a spectral "corpsechewer!" who implores him to submit to the spiritual authority of the Church. While he is in fear of the "*dio boia*, hangman god" of an authoritarian Catholicism, and anchored intellectually to the rationalist ontology of scholasticism, he will continue to apprehend the material world as a sublunary sphere of generation, decay and corruption. His disavowal of the rights and claims of the Church will not yield a condition of existential certitude, and he will remain a "shape that cannot be changed."

[158] Ibid, p. 71.
[159] Ibid, p. 71.

As I have argued, Stephen's search for a sustaining mode of vision is a quest for the gift, or grace, of existential certitude. Unable to apprehend the truth of a benevolent and loving deity, he lives in fear of the "*dio boia*, hangman god". In Chapter 5 of *A Portrait* Stephen tells Cranly: "I tried to love God, he said at length. It seems now I failed. It is very difficult. I tried to unite my will with the will of God instant by instant. In that I did not always fail. I could perhaps do that still ...". (*P* 261) Cranly attempts to temper the obstinacy of Stephen's apostasy by appealing to the hurt and pain that such a disavowal would cause his mother: "Whatever else is unsure in this stinking dunghill of a world a mother's love is not. Your mother brings you into the world, carries you first in her body. What do we know about what she feels? But whatever she feels, it, at least, must be real. It must be." (*P* 263) This appeal to the sustaining reality of love is made by Stephen's mother before he embarks for Paris: "She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it." However, in *Ulysses* Stephen has not yet understood "what the heart is and it feels", and "Pain, that was not yet the pain of love, fretted his heart." (*U* 1:102) With the death of his mother, he has lost the certitude that was implicit in her love for him, and he pronounces in 'Scylla and Charybdis': "Upon incertitude, upon unliklehood. *Amor matris*, subjective and objective genitive, may be the only true in life. Paternity may be a legal fiction. Who is the father of any son that any son should love him and he any son?" (*U* 9:843-45) However, the sustaining reality of a mother's love is abstracted and housed in the dead form of the Latin language. His search for certitude is still located in his search for epiphanic moments, and in his esoteric study. Remembering the lost comfort of his privileged middle-class upbringing, and his

study of mystic and Hermetic writers, he thinks: "Come out of them, Stephen. Beauty is not there. Nor in the stagnant bay of Marsh's library where you read the fading prophecies of Joachim Abbas. For whom? The hundredheaded rabble of the cathedral close." (*U* 3:106-9) While the reference to the "hundredheaded rabble" is reminiscent of the hated cultured and uncultured "rabblement", he is no closer to a Brunonian mode of vision. As he walks along the strand in 'Proteus' the epiphanic imagination of "poor dogsbody" Stephen, unable to apprehend "Beauty", sees the rotting corpse of a dog and perceives a corporeal world of generation, decay and corruption that is subject to a vengeful deity. The owner of the dog that is inspecting the "bloated carcass", shouts at his pet: "Tatters! Outofthat, you mongrel!" (*U* 3:354) Similarly, if Stephen is to realise a sustaining mode of vision he must look elsewhere, and he must feel the sustaining pain which is the "pain of love".

The Heroic Frenzies was published in London in 1585. In *The Consciousness of Joyce* Ellmann has noted that a 1906 edition of Bruno's *De gli eroici furori* (*The Heroic Frenzies*) was among the books that Joyce left behind in Trieste when he moved to Paris in 1920, and that this book was obtained during his lengthy sojourn in that city.[160] As Singer observes, this Italian dialogue is a "complicated exposition, with quotations from the classics and from the Preacher, we learn of the surpassing vision of love, or wisdom, which resolves all conflicts, abolishes suffering and vain pursuit of glory, and leads to the perfect peace of the One ultimate godhead of whom all individuals and all

[160] See Richard Ellmann, 'Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), p. 103. There is a cryptic reference to *De gli eroici furori* in *Finnegans Wake*: "I am not hereby giving my final endorsement to the learned ignorants of the Cusanus philosophism ... And I shall be misunderstood if understood to give an unconditional sinequam to the heroicised furibouts of the Nolanus theory ..." (*FW* 163:15-17, 22-24).

kinds are a partial reflection."[161] I would suggest that the concept of love in Joyce's writings comes to attain an ontological status, and in the manner of the concept of love in Bruno's *The Heroic Frenzies*, the realisation of "what the heart is and feels" is related intimately to the apprehension of an immanentist mode of vision.

As Theoharis notes, amidst Stephen's "gloomy meditation on the cyclic interflux of dead forms in nature",[162] there is an intimation at the end of 'Proteus' of the immanentist mode of vision that will be finally realised in 'Penelope'. This intimation is effected through a wry allusion to "Joyce's *summum bonum*",[163] Nora Barnacle: "God becomes man becomes fish becomes barnacle goose becomes featherbed mountain." (*U* 3:477-79)

VI: 'God of heaven theres nothing like nature': Molly Bloom and the Realisation of an Immanentist Mode of Vision in *Ulysses*.

In '"Nature it is": The Influence of Giordano Bruno on James Joyce's Molly Bloom', an article which appeared in the *James Joyce Quarterly* in 1976, Joseph C. Voelker argues:

> 'Penelope' follows 'Ithaca' in a manner which recapitulates Bruno's revolt against the aridity of late Scholastic thought. The movement is from a rationalism that is out touch with reality toward

[161] Singer, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 125.
[162] Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, p. 71.
[163] Ibid, p. 71.

> a paradoxical vision between whose mirrors reality can occasionally be trapped in a sudden flash of intuition.[164]

Ellmann and Eco have also argued that the realisation of the radical poetics of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* is related intimately to Joyce's gradual progression from the scholasticism of Aristotle and Aquinas to the pantheism of Bruno. In *'Ulysses' on the Liffey* Ellmann writes: "Bruno did not supersede Aristotle in Joyce's mind, but was superimposed upon him."[165] He goes on to argue:

> Bruno's doctrine did not loom so large for Joyce simply as a mechanical convenience. He was exalted by it, for it meant nothing was isolated. Bruno's contraries coincide to confirm their mutual participation in Being, 'the foundation of all kinds and of all forms'.[166]

In *The Middle Ages of James Joyce* Eco argues that, in his unorthodox appraisal of Aristotle and Aquinas, and in his complex dialogue with Bruno, Joyce is dramatising his own attempt to pass from the known to the unknown, to pass beyond the monolithic and restrictive conception of knowledge and being that is implicit in the Church's philosophical reliance upon scholasticism, and realise ultimately an expanding and infinite universe, a "Chaosmos",[167] that is uncentred and pluralistic. He writes: "In Joyce's work the very crisis of late scholasticism

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[164] Joseph C. Voelker, '"Nature it is": The Influence of Giordano Bruno on James Joyce's Molly Bloom', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 14 (1976), p. 41.
[165] Ellmann, *'Ulysses' on the Liffey*, p. 54.
[166] Ibid, p. 56.
[167] Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce*, p. 11.

is accelerated and therein a new cosmos is born."[168] He argues that in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* Joyce dissolves "the ordered Cosmos into the polyvalent form of the Chaosmos."[169]

It is in 'Penelope' that such a "Chaosmos" is realised. In this chapter I have argued that the movement that Joyce undertakes in his writings, "from contraries, through contraries, into contraries, to contraries," from the "stasis" (*P* 223) of the profane Thomistic aesthetics of *Dubliners* and *A Portrait* to the immanentist mode of vision of *Ulysses*, is a poetic movement that is related intimately to his lifelong struggle with the Church. While *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* signify his heretical intent to effect a sundering with the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of contemporary Catholicism, *Ulysses* signifies the realisation of an heretical practice. Throughout this thesis I have argued that the subversive and heretical status of such a textual "Chaosmos", and the manner in which such a relativistic poetics is related to his "open war" with the Church, can only be apprehended through an understanding of the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of the Church in Edwardian Ireland, and an awareness of the discursive environment which prevailed within Catholicism during this period. If Joyce's writings are to remain in what Clifford Geertz has termed the "consultable record of what man has said",[170] and the status of his discursive negotiation with contemporary Catholicism is to be interpreted, then there must be an apprehension of the historical context in which his texts were enunciated and there must be an awareness of the conditions of constraint. In 'Scylla and Charybdis', in his discussion of *Hamlet*, Stephen argues: "Elizabethan London

[168] Ibid, p. 2.
[169] Ibid, p. 11.
[170] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), p. 30.

lay as far from Stratford as corrupt Paris lies from virgin Dublin." (*U* 9:149-50) Edwardian Ireland is a reality that belongs to an epistemic period that lies far from our current "secular age of postmodern skepticism".[171] In a letter that he wrote to Budgen in February 1921 Joyce stated: "The last word (human all to human) is left to Penelope. This is the indispensable countersign to Bloom's passport to eternity. I mean the last episode, *Penelope*." (*Letters I* 159-60) Like Voelker and Eco, I would suggest 'Penelope', the "last word" of *Ulysses*, is a radical text whose mode of vision is consonant with the immanentist ontology of Bruno's heretical philosophy. From a formalistic critical perspective, the transition in Joyce's writings from the stasis of "applied Aquinas" (*SH* 81) in *Dubliners* and *A Portrait* to the employment of the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries as a principle of formal technique in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, is testament to his canonical status as an apolitical revolutionary prose innovator in a High Modernist context. As I have argued, without sustained contextualisation, and without a degree of thick description, the subversive and heretical status of the "last word" of *Ulysses* can be apprehended only in part, and the discursive shock that is implicit in Joyce's privileging of an immanentist mode of vision in *Ulysses* cannot be realised fully.

While I agree with Eco's statement that the "crisis of late scholasticism is accelerated" in Joyce's writings, I would suggest that this acceleration is necessitated by the ideological status of scholasticism within Ultramontane Catholicism. The significance of Joyce's dialogue with Aquinas and Bruno will remain a staple-feature of formalistic critical appraisals of Joyce's writings until there is an historicist appraisal of the ideological status of their writings during

[171] Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. xiv.

the 1900s. Scholasticism was identified with Catholicism *tout court* by an integralist and Ultramontane Vatican, and the privileging of an immanentist ontology in *Ulysses* is demonstrative of Joyce's alienation from contemporary Catholicism. As I argued in Chapter 1, during this period the Irish Church was in thrall to the authoritarian temper of the Roman hierarchy. In its vigilance against the spread of Modernist thinking in Ireland the Irish hierarchy facilitated the creation of a discursive environment in which theological speculation and research were actively discouraged. In *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History* Terence Brown has observed that the quality of the theology of the Irish Church in Edwardian Ireland was that of a "facile scholasticism."[172] In such a context, Joyce's profane and piratical appropriation of the philosophy of Aquinas, and his intimate representation of the material and spiritual conditions of modernity, is certainly subversive. As I have noted, Pius X condemned the conservative apologetic immanence of Philosophical Modernism as the "synthesis of all heresies". In this respect, I would suggest that Joyce's realisation of a mode of vision in *Ulysses* that is consonant with the "radically anti-Christian" ontological immanentism of Bruno is a profound and lasting signification of his struggle with contemporary Catholicism. Joyce went on to write *Finnegans Wake* after *Ulysses*, and 'Penelope' is not his "last word". While fragments of the rites, dogmas, liturgy and teachings of the Church abound in the polysemous narrative of the *Wake*, I would suggest that *Ulysses* is the text in which Joyce signifies his liberation from the ontological and intellectual hegemony of the Church. Although *Ulysses* is not his "last word" on Catholicism, I would suggest that it is his most significant.

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[172] Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-1985* (London: Fontana Press, 1981), p. 31.

During his brief and unhappy sojourn in Rome in 1907, in which he witnessed the annual procession in honour of Bruno, Joyce finished the unwieldy manuscript of *Stephen Hero*, conceived of the story from which *Ulysses* would develop, and began to work on the final story of *Dubliners*, 'The Dead'. Before he had constructed the consciousness of Molly Bloom as a radical text in *Ulysses*, the only substantial female character he had created was Gretta Conroy in 'The Dead', who, like Nora Barnacle, is from Galway. There is a moment in the narrative in which her husband, Gabriel Conroy, standing in the hallway in the house of his maiden aunts, gazes up the stairs at the darkened form of a woman who is arrested momentarily by the sound of music:

> Gabriel had gone to the door with the others. He was in a dark part of the hall gazing up the staircase. A woman was standing near the top of the first flight, in the shadow also. He could not see her face but he could see the terracotta and salmonpink panels of her skirt which the shadow made appear black and white. It was his wife. She was leaning on the banisters, listening to something. Gabriel was surprised at her stillness and strained her ear to listen also. But he could hear little save the noise of laughter and dispute on the front steps, a few chords struck on the piano and a few notes of a man's voice singing.
>
> He stood still in the gloom of the hall, trying to catch the air the voice was singing and gazing up at his wife. There was grace and mystery in her attitude as if she were a symbol of something. He

> asked himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to music a symbol of. If he were a painter he would paint her in that attitude. Her blue felt hat would show off the bronze of her hair against the darkness and the dark panels of her skirt would show off the light ones. *Distant Music* he would call the picture if he were a painter. (*D* 210-11)

Gabriel perceives this scene as an epiphanic moment. Stephen Daedalus defines his theory of epiphany in Chapter XXV of *Stephen Hero*:

> He was passing through Eccles' St one evening, one misty evening, with all these trivial thoughts dancing the dance of the unrest in his brain when a trivial incident set him composing some ardent verses which he entitled a 'Vilanelle of the Temptress'. A young lady was standing on the steps of one of those brown brick houses which seem the very incarnation of Irish paralysis. A young gentleman was leaning on the rusty railing of the area. Stephen as he passed on his quest heard the following fragment of colloquoy out of which he received an impression keen enough to afflict his sensitiveness very severely.
>
> The Young Lady — (drawling discreetly) … O, yes, … I was … at the … cha …pel …
>
> The Young Gentleman — (inaudibly) … I … (again inaudibly) … I …

> The Young Lady — (softly) …) … but you're … ve … ry … wick … ed …
>
> This triviality made him think of collecting such moments together in a book of epiphanies. By an epiphany he meant a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself. He believed that it was for the man of letters to record these epiphanies with extreme care, seeing that they themselves are the most delicate and evanescent of moments. (*SH* 216)

It is known that Joyce himself did in fact record such moments of "sudden spiritual manifestation". (*JJ* 87-89) In 'Proteus' Stephen recalls mockingly his former endeavour to record such moments: "Remember your epiphanies written on green oval leaves, deeply deep, copies of which to be sent if you died to all the great libraries of the world, including Alexandria?" (*U* 3:141-43) In this respect, it appears that Joyce had abandoned his concept of the epiphany by the time he came to work on *Ulysses*. As a principle and theory of literary creation it belongs to the period in which he first enunciated his "Nego"; it is a further instance of Joyce's profane displacement of a theological term into the sphere of the secular. It is associated intimately with his refusal of the rights and claims of the Church, and is an integral function of his attempt to construct an heretical discursive site from which he can enunciate his texts. In *Stephen Hero* the revelation that Stephen apprehends is a moment in which the society of Dublin discloses its condition of spiritual and physical servitude to the moral precepts and teaching of the Church: it is an incarnational moment of "Irish paralysis." In

the bourgeois Catholic morality of Edwardian Ireland sexuality is repressed; it is perceived and discussed with an unhealthy fusion of puritanical prurience and pleasure. The act of physical love is only legitimate, that is, sanctioned by the Church, when it is enjoyed within the confines of Holy matrimony. For Stephen this is a simoniacal exchange. Sexuality is regarded as a cognate of the sinful and corporeal sphere of generation, decay and corruption, and the only discursive site in which it is legitimate to speak of sexual desire is the contrary spaces of the confessional and the brothel. Joyce conceived of *Dubliners* as a "chapter in the moral history of my country" that constituted the "first step towards the spiritual liberation" (*Letters I* 62-63) of Ireland. All of the stories in *Dubliners*, with the exception of 'The Dead', are written according to the theory and principle of the epiphany that is defined in *Stephen Hero*. They are texts that reveal the condition of spiritual paralysis that he detects in Irish society. Moreover, it is an existential condition that Stephen Dedalus has not yet escaped in *Ulysses*.

In 'The Dead' Gabriel asks "himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to music a symbol of. If he were a painter he would paint her in that attitude. [...] *Distant Music* he would call the picture if he were a painter." His moment of epiphanic insight and his attempt to render the image of his wife as symbolic stasis proves to be an insubstantial instance of masculine *puissance*. His artistic imagination is, in this instance, proprietal, and the consciousness of his provincial wife is deliberately excluded from his symbolistic projection. The sight of his wife stationed on the stairs listening to *The Lass of Aughrim*, and his later perception of the "colour on her cheeks" (*D* 213) and the shine in her eyes, stirs him to remember their life together. As they walk part of the way home he is filled with "tender joy", (*D* 215) and yearns to

express his love and affection to her. At their hotel Gretta is distant and seems preoccupied with the words of the song that Bartell D'Arcy had sung at the Morkans, although she is not unaffectionate towards Gabriel. Frustrated by her distance, Gabriel's affectionate desire becomes lustful: "He longed to cry to her from his soul, to crush her body against his, to overmaster her." (*D* 218) However, his desire to "overmaster her" is overthrown by the passion and intensity of the story that Gretta tells him of her youthful relationship with Michael Furey. She tells a jealous Gabriel that Furey was a young man she had known in Galway who had been in love with her and who died of consumption, though the circumstances in which he died have led her to believe that "he died for me." (*D* 221) This revelation seizes Gabriel with a "vague terror". (*D* 221) After she has fallen asleep he remains awake. He is tortured by his failure to make love to Gretta, and his own incomprehension of the passionate intensity of her remembrance, and the certitude of love that is implicit in Furey's decision to risk death and see her one last time before she leaves for a convent school: "Generous tears filled Gabriel eyes. He had never felt like that himself towards any woman but he knew that such a feeling must be love." (*D* 224) As Gretta sleeps he stares out of the window of their hotel-room and contemplates the "snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead." (*D* 225) He resolves that the "time had come for him to set out westward" (*D* 225) and encounter the country from which his wife comes; and the chiastic lyricism of the denouement of 'The Dead' bespeaks a mournful affirmation. However, he does not apprehend the reality of the love that is shared by Gretta and the shade of the "young man standing under a dripping tree", (*D* 224) and it is the note of existential loneliness

and absence of certitude that overshadows the vista of his imagination. The indifferent snow falls "upon all the living and the dead."

In Chapter 3 I suggested that an awareness of the presence of a Brunonian conception of "Truth"[173] in Joyce's work may provide a context for a re-examination of the concept of epiphany, and how this concept possibly develops in his work. As I have noted, the apprehension of a "spiritual manifestation" through the modalities of sense-perception is certainly redolent of Bruno's belief in the fallible processes by which the philosopher ("the lover of the true or good" (*CW* 69)) may apprehend "Truth". For Bruno in *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* "Truth" is described as an emanation of God. It is the "world-soul" or the "inner artificer" of *Cause, Principle and Unity*, and the principle through which the divine exists and operates as an immanent presence in matter. As Imerti observes: "she [Truth] is relative to time, and reveals herself as the substance of things in myriad forms. She is manifest in all living things, operating through the eternal laws of an immanent God identified with a timeless universe, and although she may appear different in each succeeding generation, she is immutable and immortal."[174] In *Stephen Hero* and *Dubliners* the realisation of an epiphanic moment is overwhelmingly the occasion for the disclosure of the spiritual servitude and "paralysis" of Edwardian Ireland, and not the intimation of a sustaining mode of vision. Stephen Dedalus argues in *A Portrait* that his aesthetic theory is concerned with an apprehension of "beauty" and the "beautiful", (*P* 225) and not with "Truth", the intellectual apprehension of the divine. However, his only literary composition while a student is the insipid villanelle which, in *Stephen Hero* as the 'Vilanelle of the Temptress', is a

[173] Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, p. 138.
[174] Imerti, 'Editor's Introduction', ibid, p. 31.

response to a further intimation of "Irish paralysis." In this context, the concept of epiphany is divorced from a realisation of a sustaining moment of revelation. His theory of the epiphany is derived philosophically from "Thomistic stasis", and his literary vignettes are correspondingly static in form and content. The sensorial perception of the manifestation of the spiritual in the corporeal world of generation, decay and corruption, does not issue an apprehension of the immanence of the divine.

As I have argued, there is a gradual intimation of the presence of a Brunonian mode of vision in *Ulysses*, and like Voelker and Eco, I would suggest that such a mode of vision is realised ultimately in 'Penelope'. In *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'* Budgen argues: "There is none of the coldness of an abstraction in Molly Bloom, but she is more symbolical than any other person in *Ulysses*. What she symbolises is evident: it is the teeming earth with her countless brood of created things."[175] When Stephen Daedalus "passes through Eccles' St" in *Stephen Hero* an instance of "Irish paralysis" incites him conceptualise his theory of an epiphany. However, in *Stephen Hero*, and in *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, Daedalus and Dedalus are unable to countenance "beauty" or "Truth" as an immanent presence in the material world. When Gabriel Conroy sees his wife halted on the stairs he asks "himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to music a symbol of." However, in the stasis of his symbolistic imagination he is unable to apprehend the knowledge and experience of love which shapes her mode of vision. As I have noted, Budgen argues that Molly Bloom is "more symbolical than any other person in *Ulysses*." In the final section of this chapter I wish to ask, what is a

[175] Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'*, p. 269.

woman lying awake on a bed "in the attitude of Gea-Tellus, fulfilled, recumbent, big with seed" (*U* 17: 2313-14) in 7 Eccles' Street in the early hours of 17 June 1904 a symbol of?

Although Budgen regards Molly as a dynamic symbol of "the teeming earth with her countless brood of created things," I would argue that 'Penelope' is more than a reductive symbolic identification of woman and nature, and is not a suspect textual gender-construction that re-emphasises the consonance of women with matter. Women and matter are not castigated as the final terms of degradation in 'Penelope'. While 'Penelope' is an epiphanic symbol it is not a negative textual construction that signifies a " *chaos* of irrationality, a *hyle* [wood] of wickedness, a forest of ribaldry, a mass of uncleanliness, an inclination to every perdition." As I have noted, in a letter that he wrote to Frank Budgen in August 1921, Joyce wrote:

> *Penelope* is the clou of the book. The first sentence contains 2500 words. There are eight sentences in the episode. It begins and ends with the female word *Yes*. It turns like the huge earthball slowly surely and evenly round and round spinning. Its four cardinal points being the female breasts, arse, womb and sex expressed by the words *because*, *bottom* (in all senses, bottom button, bottom of the glass, bottom of the sea, bottom of the heart) *woman*, *yes*. Though probably more obscene than any preceding episode it seems to me to be perfectly sane full amoral fertilisable untrustworthy engaging shrewd limited prudent indifferent *Weib*. *Ich bin das Fleisch das stets bejaht*.

The solitary and ruminatory monologue of Molly Bloom, whose birthday, 8 September, is the feast day of the Blessed Virgin Mary, functions as a challenge to both the "madonna which the cunning Italian intellect flung to the mob of Europe", (*U* 9:839-40) and, as Enda Duffy observes in *The Subaltern 'Ulysses'*, the allegorical depiction of Ireland as "either old woman (Yeats's Countess Cathleen) or young girl"[176] in the iconography of Irish nationalism. Indeed, her candid discussion of her sexuality, her lovers, and her bodily functions, is a pointed affront to the proprietary, decorum and mores of Edwardian Ireland, and of bourgeois patriarchal society in general. As I have noted, Anglo-American feminist critics have regarded Joyce's construction of 'Penelope' as a chauvinistic instance of masculine *puissance*, and not, as Henke argues, a "linguistic paradigm of écriture féminine." However, as I have suggested, the form and content of 'Penelope' is influenced by Joyce's reading of *Cause, Principle and Unity*, and is thus a tacit refusal of the misogyny that is implicit in scholasticism and the rationalist discourse of patriarchal Western society. While 'Penelope' is a "huge earthball slowly surely and evenly round and round spinning", it is a text that is not constructed as an analogous or symbolic representation of a fallen and sublunary world of generation, decay and corruption. This "huge earthball" is a Brunonian celestial body in which the divine is immanent in nature. Joyce subverts the scholastic logic that posits the feminine as an analogue of corrupt and corrupting matter, and constructs 'Penelope' as an "indifferent" textual space that is consonant with the "indifferent" and infinite universe, the simulacrum of the divine. It is a text in

[176] Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern 'Ulysses' Ulysses'* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 165.

which contraries coincide and in which hierarchical and symbolic structures and discourses are subverted, de-stabilised, and overthrown.

In *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* Julia Kristeva argues that poetry, or poetic language, is a subversive semiotic order that is consonant with the pulsions, flows and desires of the feminine. She suggests that such a semiotic order constitutes an "anarchic outcry against the thetic and socializing position of syntactic language."[177] According to Kristeva's conception of poetic language, 'Penelope' is a text in which a subversive semiotic order is realised. As Joyce declared in his letter to Budgen: "There are eight sentences in the episode. It begins and ends with the female word *Yes*. [...] Its four cardinal points being the female breasts, arse, womb and sex expressed by the words *because*, *bottom* (in all senses, bottom button, bottom of the glass, bottom of the sea, bottom of the heart) *woman*, *yes*." All of Molly's contrary reflections, utterances, opinions, fantasies, and nostalgic reminiscences are contained in an undifferentiated and unstable textual space. The closure of "syntactic language" is refused and displaced by a carnivalesque form of anti-punctuation; the "words *because*, *bottom* [...] *woman*, *yes*", which represent the "female breasts, arse, womb and sex", shape a discourse in which the spiritual and the corporeal, mind and body, form and matter, are coincident principles and in which an immanentist mode of vision is realised.

Joyce's writings never elicited the censure of the Church, and *Ulysses* was never placed on the *Index*. It was the alleged obscenity and blasphemy of *Ulysses* that ensured that it remained a banned book in the United States of America until 1934 and in Britain until 1936. Molly's frank discussion of her

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[177] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 174.

sexuality, her fantasies, her love-making with Blazes Boylan, and her menstrual cycle, were among the instances in *Ulysses* that were alleged to be obscene. As an epiphanic symbol 'Penelope' is not an instance of "Irish paralysis." She does not perceive her body and nature as consonant with a fallen and corporeal world, and she refuses to regard sexual pleasure as an inherently sinful activity:

> [...] I wish some man or other would take me sometime when hes there and kiss me in his arms theres nothing like a kiss long and hot down to your soul almost paralyses you then I hate that confession when I used to go to Father Corrigan he touched me father and what harm if he did and I said on the canal like a fool but whereabouts on your person my child on the leg high up was it yes rather high up was it where you sit down yes O Lord couldnt he say bottom right out and have done with it what has that got to do with it and did you whatever he put it I forget no father and I always think of the real father what did he want to know when I already confessed it to God [...] (*U* 18:105-13)

Although Molly and Leopold Bloom have suffered the tragedy of having lost a child, existence is not mourned as a vale of tears ("O Im not going to think myself into the glooms about that anymore" (*U* 18:1450-51)). It is not lamented as a sphere in which humanity is separated from an extrinsic God. The passages that were condemned as obscene are those instances in which Molly expresses her puzzlement, frustration, anger, delight and awe, towards the multiform things of the created universe. She compares Boylan's genitalia to "iron like some kind

of thick crowbar standing all the time he must have eaten oysters I think a few dozen he was in great singing voice no I never in all my life felt anyone had one the size of that to make you feel full up". (*U* 18:147-50) When her period comes on she laments with frustration: "have we too much blood in us or what O patience above its pouring out of me like the sea [...] whoever suggested that business for women what between clothes and cooking and children". (*U* 18:1121-22, 1129-30) And, unaware of Stephen's aversion to soap and water, she fantasies: "his lovely young cock there so simple I wouldnt mind taking him in my mouth if nobody was looking as if it was asking you to suck it so clean and white he looks with his boyish face I would too". (*U* 18:1353-55)

While I would reject the charge of obscenity in relation to 'Penelope', I would suggest that it is the text in which an heretical and immanentist mode of vision is realised. The instances in 'Penelope' in which the divine is celebrated as an immanent presence in an infinite universe are associated with Molly's joyful recollection of the monumental kisses of her life, as a young girl in Gibraltar with Mulvey, and in Dublin with Bloom. For Molly a kiss is the purest, most intimate, and most fulfilling expression of love, desire, affection and tenderness: "theres nothing like a kiss long and hot down to your soul almost paralyses you". When she recalls her kisses with Mulvey and Bloom it is in the context of an affirmatory evocation of the infinite joy and plentitude of multiform creation. The *jouissance* of her amorous reveries precipitates an apprehension of a world of undifferentiated things in which humanity is always on the cusp of the divine. The predominance of flowers in Molly's enthusiastic meditation on the multiform things of a multiform universe is redolent of Stephen's epiphany in Chapter 4 of *A Portrait* in which he sees the world

transfigured: "Glimmering and trembling, trembling and unfolding, a breaking light, an opening flower".

> [...] I love flowers Id love to have the whole place swimming in roses God of heaven theres nothing like nature the wild mountains then the sea and the waves rushing then the beautiful country with the field of oats and wheat and all kinds of things and all the fine cattle going about that would do your heart good to see rivers and lakes and flowers and all sorts of shapes and smells and colours springing up even out of the ditches and violets nature it is as for them saying theres no God I wouldnt give a snap of my two fingers for all their learning why dont they go and create something I often asked him atheists or whatever they call themselves go and wash the cobbles of themselves first then they go howling for the priest and they dying and why because theyre afraid of hell on account of their bad conscience ah yes I know them well who was the first person in the universe before there was anybody that made it all who ah that they dont know neither do I so there you there [...] (*U* 18:1557-71)

I would suggest that it is a pantheistic conception of nature, and that the realisation of this immanentist mode of vision through the experience of love is redolent of *The Heroic Frenzies*. In the introduction to his 1964 translation of *The Heroic Frenzies* Paul Eugene Memmo observes: "In the scholastic world view the individual achieves the highest good by separating his spiritual from his

corporeal nature rather than by attempting to bring about harmony between them. Accordingly, the lover of the good does not consciously seek as his *Summum Bonum* a synthesis between his corporeal and his spiritual natures, as he will in *De gli eroici furori.*"[178] In 'Penelope' there is such a synthesis of the corporeal and the spiritual.

In the wonderful torrent of the final sentence of 'Penelope' Molly recalls one of her monumental kisses. She remembers the afternoon that she spent with Bloom "lying among the rhododendrons on Howth head", (*U* 18:1572-73) when she "gave him the bit of seedcake out of my mouth", (*U* 18:1574) and he proposed to her. As I have noted, this significant event in their life together is also remembered by Bloom in 'Lestrygonians'. However, Bloom's reminiscence of this sacramental moment is tinged with sadness and disappointment. He recalls his eating of the seedcake with exultation: "Joy: I ate it: joy." (*U* 8:908) And he is enthused and exhilarated by the memory of their embrace: "Wildly I lay on her, kissed her: eyes, her lips, her stretched neck beating, woman's breast full in her blouse of nun's veiling, fat nipples upright. Hot I tongued her. She kissed me. I was kissed. All yielding she tossed my hair. Kissed, she kissed me." (*U* 8:913-16) However, while he has affirmed that "Love" is really what life is in 'Cyclops', (*U* 12:1485) he is still pained by the loss of their son, Rudy, and is aware shamefully that Molly's burgeoning affair with Boylan is to be consummated that afternoon, and is left "downcast". (*U* 8:919) Molly has made love with Boylan during the afternoon, and she mocks Bloom's unusual habits throughout 'Penelope'. She also vows to be "indifferent" (*U* 18:1529) with him, and she chastises him for the evasiveness of the explanation he has given her

[178] Paul Eugene Memmo, Jr., 'Preface', Giordano Bruno, *The Heroic Frenzies* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 25.

about what he has been up to during the day. However, she also recalls with tenderness and pride the qualities that once drew her to Bloom, and in her recollection of that afternoon years before "High on Ben Howth", she re-affirms her love for him, and validates their life together. As she recalls the moment when she "gave him the bit of seedcake out of my mouth", it becomes an epiphanic instance of "spiritual manifestation". This symbolic moment is not one of spiritual stasis; it is the manifestation of an immanentist mode of vision. It is the celebration of a kiss, of their love, and involves the realisation of an infinite and multiform universe. While she remembers that she was "thinking of so many things he didnt know of", (*U* 18:1582) of Mulvey and her youth in Gibraltar, the denouement of 'Penelope' is cosmic in its expanse and effusion, and issues forth a crescendo of pure affirmation. Reality is perceived as simultaneous, infinite, and, significantly, benevolent:

> [...] the day I got him to propose to me yes first I gave him the bit of seedcake out of my mouth and it was leapyear like now yes 16 years ago my God after that long kiss I near lost my breath yes he said I was a flower of the mountain yes so we are flowers all a womans body yes that was the one true thing he said in his life and the sun shines for you today yes that was why I liked him because I saw he understood or felt what a woman is and I knew I could always get round him and I gave him all the pleasure I could leading him on till he asked me to say yes and I wouldnt answer first only looked out over the sea and the sky I was thinking of so many things he didnt know of Mulvey and Mr Stanhope and Hester and father and old

> captain Groves and [...] those handsome Moors all in white and turbans like kings asking you to sit down in their little bit of a shop and Ronda with the old windows of the posadas 2 glancing eyes a lattice hid for her lover to kiss the iron and the winesops half open at night and the castanets and the night we missed the boat at Algeciras the watchman going about serene with his lamp and O that awful deepdown torrent O and the sea the sea crimson sometimes like fire and the glorious sunsets and the figtrees in the Alameda gardens yes and all the queer little streets and the pink and the blue and yellow houses and the rosegardens and the jessamine and geraniums and cactuses and Gibraltar where I was a Flower of the mountain yes when I put the rose in my hair the way the Andalusians girls used or shall I wear a red yes and how he kissed me under the Moorish wall and I thought well as well him as another and then I asked with my eyes to ask again and then he asked me would I yes to say yes my mountain flower and first I put my arms around him yes and drew him down to me so he could feel my breasts all perfume yes and his heart was going like mad and yes I said yes I will Yes. (*U* 18:1573-83, 1593-1609)

VII: Conclusion.

Ulysses opens with Mulligan's blasphemous parody of the Mass, and ends with the realisation of the radical poetics and the immanentist mode of vision of 'Penelope'. This movement, "from contraries, through contraries, into

contraries, to contraries," is an intellectual and spiritual odyssey from negation to affirmation. I have argued that the realisation of Joyce's radical modernistic prose is related intimately to the ontological shift that can be discerned in *Ulysses*, and is, in part, an integral function of his complex negotiations with contemporary Catholicism. However, if the reader is to apprehend the significance of the ontological reality that is celebrated in 'Penelope', and the discursive and heretical shock of this realisation, then there must be an understanding of the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of the Church in Ireland. Also, if the reader is to acknowledge the pantheistic vision of 'Penelope' he or she must negotiate the "medieval abstrusiosities" of *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, the 'Telemachiad', and 'Scylla and Charybdis', and pass through the trivialities, trials and triumphs of Bloom's day in Dublin on 16 June 1904. In the *Heroic Frenzies* Bruno argues that the apprehension of the reality of an infinite universe in which the divine is immanent in nature, which he elaborates in *Cause, Principle and Unity*, is dependent on a synthesis of the spiritual and the corporeal. However, if such a synthesis is to be achieved, and the abstraction and stasis of scholasticism is to be overcome, then there must be an embrace of the corporeal. Stephen must pass through Bloom, and Bloom must pass through Stephen. 'Penelope' is the radical textual space in which these contraries coincide, and this text is a signification of the poetics of "Chaosmos" that are realised in the *Wake*.

In this chapter I have attempted to trace the presence and significance of the immanentist philosophy of Bruno in *Ulysses*, and discuss the manner in which the privileging of a Brunonian ontological conception of reality in this text is related intimately to Joyce's "lifelong Faustian and secularist struggle with the

Catholic Church of his education and upbringing." Although *Ulysses* is celebrated rightly as a text of decolonisation, I would suggest that it is also the text in which Joyce's signifies his liberation from the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of the Church. What is enunciated as heretical intent in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, is signified as heretical practice in *Ulysses*. Moreover, its publication in 1922 constitutes a subversive challenge to the chauvinistic Catholicism and nationalism of the emergent confessional Irish Free State. *Ulysses* is the textual realisation of the uncreated conscience of Ireland; and, as I have argued, this realisation is influenced by Joyce's lifelong dialogue with the Nolan, the anathematised Italian philosopher whom the students of University College, Dublin, presumed was a porter at Cecilia Street Medical School.

Conclusion

Et ignotas animum dimittit in artes.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, VIII, 188

James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* (*P* 1)

> A heresy is only a rejected variation; but the principle of heresy is a principle of progress and life.
>
> George Tyrrell, *Letters from a Modernist.*[1]

In a review of Colleen Jaurretche's *The Sensual Philosophy: Joyce and the Aesthetics of Mysticism*, that appeared in the *James Joyce Broadsheet* in June 2000, Steven Morrison argues: "If the 'definitive' work on Joyce and Catholicism will never be written, that's something for which we ought to be grateful; the destabilisation of single, authoritative voices was part of the point in the first place."[2] Although this thesis has not been an attempt to undertake a "'definitive'" study of Joyce and Catholicism I have attempted to suggest some paradigms in which the complex nature of Joyce's relationship with Catholicism can be explored more fully. Morrison chastises Jaurretche for conducting her examination of Joyce's dialogue with medieval mysticism as "though there were no [previous] debate at all" and as if "everything held about the Catholic dimension of Joyce's writings is invalid and the 'sensual philosophy of apophatic', or 'negative' theology was all that he took from the religion of his

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[1] George Tyrrell, *Letters from a "Modernist": The Letters of George Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward, 1893-1908*, ed. Mary Jo Weaver (Shepherdstown, W. Va., and London: Patmos Press and Sheed and Ward, 1981), p. 67.

[2] Steven Morrison, [untitled review of Colleen Jaurretche, *The Sensual Philosophy: Joyce and the Aesthetics of Mysticism* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997)] *James Joyce Broadsheet*, 56 (June 2000), p. 3.

birth".[3] While Joyce's texts are supersaturated with the religion in which he avowed his disbelief, the study of the "Catholic dimension of Joyce's writings" within Joycean criticism remains very much a coterie, if not a neglected, interest. This neglect exists in spite of the manifest significance of the Church in Joyce's famous determination to "create the uncreated conscience of my race." (*P* 276)

The extant discussions of Joyce and Catholicism have largely been undertaken from critical positions that are mutually exclusive. The seminal critical examinations of Joyce's relationship with Catholicism were undertaken during the 1950s, and the critical approach of William T. Noon in *Joyce and Aquinas* and J. Mitchell Morse in *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Sympathetic Alien* is informed by the New and formalistic criticism of Anglo-American academia during this period. Moreover, the vast majority of the few articles and book that have appeared on this subject since that time have failed largely to move beyond the paradigms of a formalistic criticism. While I do not wish to denigrate the significance or worth of this criticism, I would suggest that the extant criticism on Joyce and Catholicism has interpreted Catholicism as "transhistorical, transcultural essence."[4] As such, Catholicism is understood as the Catholic intellectual and philosophical tradition, and the baroque richness of Catholic rite and liturgy, and has rarely been acknowledged as a material and discursive formation. Moreover, there has been little theoretical speculation concerning the manner in which the rites, teachings, dogmas, and the deposits of faith of the Catholic tradition are displaced into the secular and profane textual space of Joyce's radical poetics. As I have argued, Joyce's dialogue with the philosophical and theological writings of Aquinas, Augustine, Aristotle, and,

[3] Ibid, p. 3. He also chastises Jaurretche for barely mentioning Giordano Bruno in her study.
[4] Ibid, p. xv.

indeed, Bruno did not occur within a vacuum; and each of these textual encounters is connected intimately with Joyce's complex and ongoing negotiation with Catholicism. Without an understanding of the hegemony of the Church in Edwardian Ireland, and without an understanding of the discursive climate that prevailed within Catholicism during the 1900s, I would argue that there can be no real comprehension of the ideological or aesthetic status of Joyce's appropriation of patristic, Biblical, or liturgical material in his writings. Similarly, without an awareness of the historical context in which Joyce enunciated his discursive engagement with the Church, research on Joyce's dialogues with Bruno, or medieval mystics for that matter, will remain a coterie interest, and will occupy a marginal position within Joyce studies.

While formalistic critical accounts of Joyce and Catholicism have disregarded the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of the Church, and its material and discursive influences within the social formations of Edwardian Ireland and the Irish Free State, contemporary cultural and theoretical readings of Joyce that have addressed his relationship with Catholicism have done so reductively. In the introduction to this thesis I observed that the current critical consensus of Joyce is that he is a radical and subversive writer whose texts disrupt, de-stabilise, and reveal the fictive nature of the overly-fixed and seemingly normative discursive and narrative practices of British imperialism, Irish nationalism, and Roman Catholicism. However, over twenty years since Colin MacCabe published *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*, critical appraisals of Joyce's complex negotiations with the Church in his texts are frequently restricted to the relatively pat observation that Joyce reacted negatively towards the discursive and material practices of a reactionary and

oppressive Church. Even with the predominance of postcolonialism within Irish and Joyce studies, historicist and materialist readings of Joyce, with one or two rare exceptions, do not address the significance of the Catholic Church in any great detail, or at any great length. While such influential critics as Terry Eagleton have bemoaned the "narrowness"[5] of approach within Irish cultural and literary studies, and suggested that a consideration of such neglected topics as religion and education might help to "prise open a field which seems to have become rather too tightly bounded,"[6] there is little evidence to suggest that critics are beginning to consider Joyce's writings in relation to the social, political, intellectual, and spiritual influence of the Catholic Church in the colonial and postcolonial social formations of Ireland.

I argued in the introduction to this thesis that the absence of an historicist reading of Joyce and Catholicism is a sin of omission in the ever-expanding field of Joyce and Irish studies. Although this thesis is not conceived as a "'definitive'" historicist account of Joyce and Catholicism, I have attempted to explore the subversive and offensive nature of Joyce's engagement with Catholicism by a sustained reading of his dialogue with the writings and legacy of the anathematised Bruno in the context of the discursive environment that prevailed within contemporary Catholicism: the triumph of Ultramontanism, the ideological significance of the neo-scholastic revival, and the emergence and condemnation of Roman Catholic Modernism. I have attempted to assess the subversive and heretical nature of his desire to achieve intellectual, spiritual and artistic freedom in Edwardian Ireland, through a degree of thick description and a textual analysis of the presence of Brunonian elements in Joyce's writings.

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[5] Terry Eagleton, *Crazy John and the Bishop and Other Essays on Irish Culture* (Cork: University of Cork Press in association with Field Day, 1998), p. ix.

Central to this discussion has been the concept of heresy. Heresy is derived from the Greek word *hairesis*, meaning choice, and a heretic is defined in the *OED* as a "person who holds an opinion or doctrine contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the Christian Church." I have argued that a discussion of Joyce's relationship with Catholicism that is anchored in a consideration of the ideological and theological status of heresy, and which examines the presence of Bruno in Joyce's texts, is an extremely efficient means of reconciling the mutually exclusive historicist and formalistic critical approaches to the question of Joyce and Catholicism. In *Outside the Fold: Modernity, Conversion and Belief* Gauri Viswanathan has argued that in a colonial situation in which the religious faith of the colonised people is different to the religious adherence of the coloniser there is a complex blurring of the boundaries between religious identity and national, racial or ethnic identity. In such a colonial situation any instance of dissent from the religious beliefs and practices of the subaltern community by a colonised individual subject is regarded as a wilful violation of the sacred narrative practices of the colonised nation, and is thus correspondingly condemned as heretical. In the Irish colonial situation an adherence to the Catholic faith was, and is, connected intimately with conceptions and constructions of Irish national identity, and it is thus legitimate to consider the ambivalence and hostility that Joyce evinced towards the Church in his writings as heretical.

I have also argued that it is legitimate to consider Joyce's struggle to realise a sustaining mode of vision, both for himself and for Ireland, as an heretical search. George Tyrrell, who was condemned and excommunicated by an Ultramontane Vatican as a heretic, argued that the "principle of heresy is a

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[6] Ibid, p. ix.

principle of progress and life". Roman Catholic Modernism and literary and artistic modernism emerged in the late-nineteenth century, and are both complex responses to the pressures of modernity. Joyce's profane appropriation of the thought of Aristotle and Aquinas occurred during a period in which a narrow and hypostasised scholasticism was made the touchstone of Catholic orthodoxy. Although *Ulysses* was banned for its alleged obscenity and blasphemy, Joyce's writings are not blasphemous and his struggle with the Church did not stem from "Idle mockery." (*U* 1:661) Heresy is an aspect of belief; it is a search for certitude. While Joyce was unable to realise existential certitude in the "logical and coherent" (*P* 265) scholastic apologetic of Catholicism, his writings are not irreligious. His search for a sustaining mode of vision and his desire to "express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can," (*P* 269) is, I would argue, consonant with Tyrrell's definition of heresy as a vital function of life. However, in our "secular age of postmodern skepticism"[7] the radical nature of such an existential quest can only be realised if one is cognisant of the intellectual and spiritual hegemony of the Church during this period, and convinced of the textual and material status of ontological discourse.

The study of Joyce and Bruno, like the study of Joyce and Catholicism, is a coterie interest. While it is a mainstay of Joycean criticism that Joyce encountered Bruno when he was an undergraduate, there has been little sustained research undertaken on the context in which this encounter took place, the status of Bruno for contemporary Catholicism, or the extent of the Brunonian presence in Joyce's early writings. Furthermore, while Joyce's employment of the Brunonian doctrine of the coincidence of contraries has "become one of the

[7] Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, p. xiv.

clichés of Joyce criticism (especially criticism of *Finnegans Wake*)",[8] and Theoharis Constantine Theoharis and Elliot B. Gose have undertaken significant research on the presence of Bruno's philosophy, there has been no historicist assessment of the role of the Nolan's thought in Joyce's work. Joyce's relationship with Bruno is related intimately to his own complex negotiations with the Church. I would argue that if one is to apprehend some of the complexity of Joyce's engagement with Catholicism, attention should be paid to the complexity of his encounter with Bruno. As I have noted, on 29 August 1904, a mere month before their elopement to Pola, Joyce declared to Nora Barnacle:

> Six years ago I left the Catholic Church, hating it most fervently. I found it impossible for me to remain in it on account of the impulses of my nature. I made secret war upon it when I was a student and declined to accept the positions it offered me. By doing this I made myself a beggar but retained my pride. Now I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do. I cannot enter the social order except as a vagabond. (*Letters II* 48)

Joyce's youthful encounter with the "heroic enthusiasm" and "robust character" (*CW* 134) of Bruno steeled him in his own anticlericalist struggle with the Church; he employed the *heretical auctoritas* of the Nolan in his early attempts to generate a discursive site from which he could enunciate his "open war", and the "vagabond" nature of Bruno's peripatetic and tragic life gave validity to his

[8] Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, *Joyce's 'Ulysses': An Anatomy of the Soul* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 40-41.

own uncertain and precarious attempt to build a life unsanctioned and unsanctified by the Church with his *summum bonum*",[9] Nora Barnacle. His attachment to Bruno was not confined to the realisation of a legitimating authority for his negation of the rights and claims of Catholicism, in Bruno he encountered a mode of vision that proffered the gift and grace of certitude. However, it was only in his meeting with Nora Barnacle on 16 June 1904, and through the joy and hardships of the unsanctified life that they built together across Europe, and through war, that the Irish "lover of the true or the good" (*CW* 69) was to apprehend the Brunonian vision of an indifferent and infinite universe that is realised in *Ulysses*. "God becomes man becomes fish becomes barnacle goose becomes featherbed mountain." (*U* 3:477-79)

[9] Ibid, p. 71.

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